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ARTAXERXES III OCHUS AND HIS REIGN

WITH SPECIAL CONSIDERATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
SOURCES BEARING UPON THE PERIOD

AN INAUGURAL DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BERN
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DOCTOR'S DEGREE

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PREFACE

In this attempt to gather all the historic data of a dark and weary period of the world's history on which the sources of information are rather indefinite and unsatisfactory, it may at first appear that too much attention is paid to the general historic situation. But when we remember that some of the biblical sources claimed for the reign of Ochus are placed by scholars at different periods from the eighth to the first century, then this objection loses its force. The final solution of the acceptance or rejection of the Old Testament sources for this period seems to the writer to depend very largely on the clearness of our conception of the history of the last seven centuries before the Christian era. The reign of Ochus forms only a fragment of the two and a fourth centuries of Persian supremacy. But to be fully understood it must be viewed in its connection with the whole. It is for this reason that the history of Persia and the more immediate contemporary history are treated more fully than would otherwise be consistent with the subject.

In chap. i the aim is simply to give a brief summary of the accepted history of the period, while in chap. ii and in chap. iii both the sources and the literature have been consulted.

N. C. H.

BERN
June, 1907.

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CHAPTER I

A HISTORICAL SURVEY. ACHAEMENES TO CYRUS. PERSIAN AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORY 550-331 B. C.

A. LITERATURE

Geo. Grote *History of Greece*, 1854⁴. Geo. Rawlinson *History of Herodotus* I-IV, 1875. F. Justi *Geschichte des alten Persiens*, 1879. F. Spiegel *Die alt-persischen Keilinschriften*, 1881². A. Wiedemann *Aegyptische Geschichte* II, 1884. Th. Nöldeke *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, 1887, the best treatment of the subject; the same appeared in a less complete form in *Enc. Brit.* Article "Persia," 1875. E. Meyer *Die Entstehung des Judentums*, 1896. E. Meyer *Geschichte des Altertums* I-V, 1884, 1893, 1901, 1901, 1902. C. P. Tiele, Article "Persia" in *E. B.* III, 1902. E. Schrader *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 1883², 3. Auflage neubearbeitet von H. Zimmern und H. Winckler, 1903.

Of the Greek and Latin Sources the following contain valuable information: Herodotus, *ca.* 555-*ca.* 424. Xenophon, *ca.* 430-*ca.* 354. Ktesias, between 500 and 400. Isocrates, 436-338. Ephoros Cumae, born *ca.* 408. Demosthenes, 385-322. Strabo, born *ca.* 63. Diodorus Siculus, between 49 B. C. and 14 A. D. Josephus, *ca.* 37 A. D.-*ca.* 100. Plutarch, *ca.* 46-*ca.* 120. Arrian, born *ca.* 100. C. Julius Solinus, *ca.* 230. Eusebius, *ca.* 265-340. Paulus Orosius, toward the close of the fourth century. Cf. the sources under chap. ii.

B. FROM ACHAEMENES TO CYRUS

The Achaemenides were a royal family whose ancient home was in the city of Anšan, probably near the later family seat Pasargadae in Persis, or identical with it. The ancestor of the entire family was Achaemenes (Hakhamaniš) who was perhaps not a historical personage, but a *heros eponymus*. Unlike the early oriental nations the Persians were not Semites but Aryans who belonged to the Indo-European races, as did all the Irânians. To the Aryan

race belonged also the Achaemenides.¹ As early as 730 B. C., Teispis, the first leader, flourished in Anšan. Following him in direct lineage were Cambyses, Cyrus, Teispis II, Cyrus II, and Cambyses II, before the beginning of the Persian empire.

The history of Persia begins with the downfall of the Median empire. This empire began to rise when the shadows began to fall upon Assyria. About the time when Assurbanipal of Assyria subjugated Babylonia, the Median tribes, wishing to cease their quarrels and to unite against a common foe, chose Deioces as their first king. But the real founder of the empire was his successor, Phraortes, 647-625. Through him the empire was enlarged. Persia was brought under his power, and afterward, little by little, large portions of Asia. Phraortes himself fell in a campaign against Assyria. Under his son and successor, Cyaxares, 624-585, the empire reached its highest power. Nineveh was besieged, but, by reason of an invasion by the Scythians, Cyaxares was called home. These Scythians, also Aryans, were conquered and afterward joined his army. With the aid of Babylon the siege of Nineveh was renewed, the proud capital taken, 606, and the empire, once the arbitrary ruler of the world, wiped entirely from the earth. Cyaxares was already master of Armenia and Cappadocia when he began the war with Lydia. Five years of fruitless conflict with that rival empire finally resulted in a treaty of peace after the battle of Halys, May 28, 585, a peace effected through Syennesis of Cilicia and Nebuchadrezzar of Babylonia as arbiters.

Under Astyages, the last Median king, 584-550, probably a survivor of the Scythian tribes,² the empire gradually approached its close. Compared with Assyria before and Persia after, the Median empire was rather insignificant, but it was the first attempt of an Aryan people to found a great and conquering empire. Unable to conquer Lydia and obliged to recognize the mighty power of Nabopolassar, it nevertheless gave the death blow to Assyria. It liberated Irân from Semitic suzerainty and united the quarreling tribes under a central power and so laid the foundation and paved the way for the Persian empire.

¹ Behistun Inscription i. 11.

² According to Justi, Astyages was a son of Cyaxares *Gesch. des alten Persiens* 13.

C. PERSIAN AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, 550-331 B. C.¹

The Persians under Cyrus (Kûruš), king of Anšan, revolted against Astyages, who is said to have been an extravagant and fierce ruler, so that his own subjects rejoiced over the rise of Cyrus. One of his own officials, Harpagus, betrayed him into the hands of Cyrus. When Astyages and his capital Ecbatana were conquered, Media and Persia changed places. The Medo-Persian empire became the Perso-Median in the year 550 B. C. Cyrus had already been king of Persia nine years before the beginning of the empire. Now he became "the great king" of a new empire, 550-529.² His first effort was to subdue the lands which had belonged to the Median empire. This he accomplished in three years. The next step was to conquer the powerful and wealthy king Croesus of Lydia, who ruled over nearly the whole western half of Asia Minor. Croesus sought the help of Greece, Egypt, and Babylonia. The Delphic oracle gave a favorable reply. Croesus decided to postpone the attack on the advancing Persians until spring. This was his mistake, for already, in the winter, Cyrus proceeded into Lydia and speedily took Sardis, the capital. Croesus was spared, but the Lydian empire had become a Persian province, 547-546. The Lydians made no attempt ever afterward to shake off the Persian yoke. The Greek cities of western Asia Minor were soon brought into subjection through Harpagus and other Persian leaders.

Babylonia anticipated danger in case the balance of power between the East and the West should be broken. Consequently Nebuchadrezzar built great fortifications, a double wall around the city and the Median wall from the Tigris to the Euphrates, besides numerous canals. This made Babylon secure under Nebuchadrezzar, but his successors were not his equals in power. The last of the kings, Nabunaid, 559-539, brought the ill-will of his subjects upon himself through the neglect of the worship of Marduk and the introduction of foreign gods. Cyrus was still without the true capital of Asia, Babylon, on which his eye was fixed. He could not think of breaking through the fortifications on the north, so he approached on the side of the Tigris. The Babylonian army, under the command of Bel-

¹ Cf. Nöldeke *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte* 14-85.

² For the dates of the Persian rulers Nöldeke *op. cit.* is followed.

shazzar (Bel-šar-ušur) met Cyrus but was defeated near Opis, and again as often as it rallied. The north Babylonians had revolted against their king and Sippar opened its gates to the enemy. Babylon fell into the hands of Cyrus without resistance in 538. The new king entered the city to the great joy of all classes, but was especially welcomed by the priesthood and the nobles who looked upon him as a liberator. Belshazzar was probably slain by Gobryas¹ the governor of Gutium, and Nabunaid was taken captive. All the territory subject to Babylonia seems to have submitted to the rule of the Persians without resistance.

Syria also, as far as the borders of Egypt, and Phoenicia, with all her island cities, came without opposition under the Persian dominion. The Semitic world had become an Aryan empire. A final work remained for Cyrus. While Harpagus was subduing the Greek cities and free states and coast-lands, Cyrus himself compelled the settled Aryan tribes of the East, and the nomadic tribes of the North-east to recognize the new empire. The Persian dominion now extended from the Indus to the blue waters of the Aegean. In a battle with a savage tribe of the northeast, probably the Massagatae, Cyrus met his death in 529. His body was probably rescued and brought to Pasargadae, where a tomb erected by his son Cambyses marks his burial-place. It is possible, however, that this is not his actual burial-place, but merely a mausoleum erected in his honor, in the great king's favorite capital.

The captive Jews in Babylonia had placed great hopes in Cyrus for their future liberation. Through him their God Jahwe would set them free, punish their oppressors, and restore Jerusalem. This was the message of their prophet Deutero-Isaiah.² Disappointment may have followed this expectation, for the hopes excited by this prophet do not appear to have been realized at once. On the cylinder (ll. 30 f.) Cyrus says that he returned to their homes the gods of a great many towns, brought together the inhabitants, and restored both temple and dwelling-places. Whether this extended beyond the immediate neighborhood of Babylon may rightly be questioned. Of the Jews "comparatively few availed themselves of this permission, but these few formed the starting-point of a development which has

¹ *Annals*, 3.22 f.

² *Isa.*, chaps. 40-55.

been of infinite importance for the history of the world."¹ Yet "the importance of Cyrus for Israel lies less in anything he actually did than in the great expectations which he excited, expectations which in their turn exercised a great influence on the ideas ultimately formed by the Jews as to the earlier stages of their restoration after the misfortunes of the exile."²

In his personality Cyrus is amiable both in history and in legend. He is the simple leader and king, tolerant in his dealings with his subjects, and mild in his government of the empire, granting his subjects a sort of self-government. The empire of Cyrus was a world of tolerance. He certainly was a remarkable man and truly a great king. And yet he left the empire in an unorganized condition. The treasures of Ecbatana, Sardis, and Babylon became the property of the king and not of the empire. The great contribution of Cyrus to his time was the laying of a foundation for a better empire in that he broke with the hated Assyro-Babylonian system of rigid and arbitrary rule. It was left to his successors to establish the empire on this broad foundation.

Cyrus left two sons, Bardiya and Cambyses, whose mother was Kassandana, also of Achaemenian descent. Cambyses (Kambudšija) succeeded his father on the throne, 529-522. The empire of Cyrus was capable of expansion. On the frontier was Egypt whose wealth was alluring and which was a menace to the empire. Just at this time occurred the death of Amasis, and his successor on the throne was the weak king Psammetich III. This was Persia's opportunity and Cambyses seized it. He spent the first four years of his reign in preparation for an expedition against Egypt. Before leaving Persia he secretly killed his brother Bardiya in order to avoid a revolt at home during his absence. The Greeks of Asia Minor, the Cyprians, and the Phoenicians furnished a large fleet under the command of Phanes and Halicarnassus formerly in the service of the Egyptians. Cambyses at the head of an army, after a single battle at Pelusium, entered Egypt in the spring of 525, and soon was lord of the whole country from Memphis to Kush. The neighboring Libyans and the Greek cities of Cyrene and Barca readily submitted. Even the Soudan and parts of Kush were added to the conquered territory.

¹ Nöldeke *op. cit.* 23.

² C. P. Tiele Art. "Cyrus" in *E. B. I.* 982.

Cambyses appears to have been moody and hateful in impassioned moments. His action in Egypt was, to say the least, unwise and impolitic. He burned the mummy of the late king Amasis, and with his own hand inflicted a mortal wound on the sacred Apis at Memphis. Consequently he was unpopular in Egypt as well as at home. Suddenly the news of a rebellion at home spread through the empire. Gaumata (pseudo-Smerdis) pretended to be the king's brother Bardiya and made claims to the throne. The people, displeased with the long absence of Cambyses, were the more ready to accept the pretender. Cambyses was on his return when he learned of the terrible insurrection. At Hamath, in northern Syria, he put an end to his life in 522. Gaumata was accepted by the people, but not by the leading families who knew him to be an impostor.

Hystaspis, the father of Darius, was the real heir to the throne, but he lacked courage to rise against the pseudo-Smerdis. A conspiracy of seven representative men of illustrious families was formed to murder the impostor. Darius was undoubtedly the leader of this heptad from the beginning. The conspiracy was completely successful. Gaumata was slain in a fortress near Ecbatana and Darius (Daryavauš) I became king of the Persian empire, 521-485. It only remained for him to find recognition among the Persian people who had accepted Gaumata. He married Attossa, daughter of Cyrus, who had already been married to her brother Cambyses and to the pseudo-Smerdis. This alone brought him favor with the people. He also restored the temple which Gaumata had destroyed and set aright everything else the impostor had altered.

All over the empire there were rebellions which had to be quelled. Western Asia alone remained quiet. First the rebellion in Lydia was quieted and then that in Babylonia where Nebuchadrezzar, a descendant of Nabunaid, had arisen to claim the throne. Even in Persia another pseudo-Smerdis appeared in the absence of Darius. In Media Phraortes, a real or a pretending descendant of the old Median royalty, became king and was recognized by the Parthians and Hyrkanians. In Susiana Imani arose as king. Another Nebuchadrezzar arose in Babylonia. The ruling power of Darius, his great energy and circumspect enabled him speedily to conquer all these difficulties. As early as 519 all these insurrections were suppressed

so that they were not to be feared again during his reign. Darius commemorated this event by an inscription in word and picture in the stone cliff at Behistun.

Darius was now free to devote his efforts to the inner establishment of the empire. In this work he manifested his true greatness and rendered his chief service to the world. Darius was not so great a general as Cyrus, but he was a greater king. He was the first statesman of Asia. The rulers of the older empires, Assyria and Chaldaea, were unlimited despots, gods upon the earth.¹ Darius was the most remarkable king of the dynasty of all the native kings of Irân, as energetic as he was prudent.² He set the standard for the empire until the days of Alexander the Great. He delegated power to governors and satraps who were free almost like kings, but he kept the reins in the hands of the central power. To further the organization he constructed a network of highways and instituted a regular system of posts. In this way the king could have his "eyes" and "ears," i. e., his royal commissioners and his royal secretaries, in each of the twenty provinces, into which the empire was divided. He substituted a new and better system of coinage for that of the Lydians, and established a regular system of taxes to the great benefit of the state. Such a centralized government was excellent as long as there was a strong and energetic man at the center. As soon as this was missing it gave equally great opportunity for satraps and governors to rise as kings. Political organization in Asia reached its greatest height under Darius. It was the most satisfactory ever devised by Orientals.

Along with the political development followed the religious. Zoroastrianism³ had already found favorable conditions for spreading over Persia during the liberal reign of Cyrus. The tolerance of Darius granting to all freedom of language, customs, and religion, was especially favorable for its spread and development. It is not a mere accident that during this statesman's reign the Jewish community at Jerusalem revived again, partly indeed through the inspiration furnished by returned exiles, but more largely through the energy of the people of Palestine roused up through the prophets

¹ Justi *op. cit.* 56.

³ K. Geldner Art. "Zoroastrianism" in *E. B.* IV. § 6.

² Nöldeke *op. cit.* 41.

Haggai and Zechariah, which resulted in the rebuilding of the temple, 519-516.¹

An organized empire with such a system of government, paralleled by its religious development, was capable of still greater expansion. Cyrus had conquered Lydia and Babylonia. Cambyses added Egypt. Darius organized the whole into one vast empire. But this was not enough. He had desires to follow the example of his predecessors. India, though probably only a portion of the region of the Indus, is mentioned in the inscriptions of the palace of Persepolis and in the epitaph of Darius, but not in the Behistun inscription. From this it may be inferred that Darius added a portion of India to his empire.

An expedition against the Scythians proved altogether unsuccessful, not because of their superiority over the Persians, but on account of physical conditions of the country with which Darius did not reckon sufficiently. Before setting out from Susa with an army of 700,000 men towards the Bosphorus, Darius sent Ariamnes, satrap of Cappadocia, with a fleet of thirty ships, to sail to the Scythian coast to capture some of the Scythians. The Ionian Greeks were called upon to furnish a fleet of 600 ships. The campaign was carried on on a large scale and was continued far inland but with no results.

The Persians were absorbed in schemes of a universal empire. There was one more nation at that time which had grown to such dimensions and stood in such close proximity to the Persian empire that it would naturally become a part of the empire or in time become a menace to it. This nation was Greece. Before continuing the history of Persia we must turn aside a little and take a glance at this rising world power, and see how through it the history of Persia was modified.

A thousand years and more before Persia was known as a separate nation there were civilizations of a high order on the borders of the Aegean. Troy and Mycenae had already been succeeded by later civilizations. From the northern and more backward parts of the peninsula came Dorian migrations and supplanted in some parts,

¹ Hag., chaps. 1, 2, Zech., chaps. 1-8. A later largely traditional account of the restoration is found in Ezra-Neh.

but in others supplemented the earlier peoples. There were two particular lines of development on the peninsula, one the Dorian, with its center at Sparta, the other the Ionian, with its center at Athens. No sooner were these centers formed than began the expansion and colonization in the neighboring states of Greece, the islands of the Aegean, and the coast of Asia Minor, where twelve cities were founded of which Miletus was the most important. This whole district took the name of Ionia. The process of colonization continued to the islands and borders of the Mediterranean, and through the Bosphorus to the shores of the Euxine. At the centers kings made room for oligarchies, and these in turn were overthrown by tyrants, who finally gave place to democracies. In military and political organization Sparta excelled. In Athens, on the other hand, art and literature, science and philosophy reached their fullest expression, particularly under the favorable conditions during the prosperous reign of Lycurgus.

It was not till about the year 500 that the Greek and oriental civilizations came into close touch with each other, and it is here where the interest of Persian history in Greece begins. Persia was at this time a mighty organized empire, while Greece consisted of a large number of disunited cities and small states. In this Hellenic world there were three centers: Greece, the Asiatic coast, and Sicily. To the close of the sixth century the Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor excelled the others in culture. As early as 560, when Croesus became king of Lydia, they were subdued by that monarch. When Cyrus conquered Lydia in 547 the Greek cities, after some resistance, became a part of the empire and so lost their leadership among the Greeks. In the year 500, possessed by a love of liberty, these Ionians revolted against Persia. Reinforced by ships from Athens and Eretria they made an attack upon Sardis. The city was taken but the citadel withstood the attack. The Greeks were driven back and defeated at Ephesus. The Persians now came with a great fleet to Cyprus, which had joined the Ionians. The Persians were met and defeated by the Ionians at sea off Salamis in Cyprus, but beat them in turn on land. Cyprus, after being free only one year, came under Persian power again. A decisive struggle was concentrated about Miletus, up to that time by far the most important of all the Greek cities in Asia. A

complete overthrow was the result after a long defense on land and on sea.

Immediately after the Ionian revolt Darius began vast preparations for the invasion of Greece. A great army under Mardonius, the king's son-in-law, was gathered at the Hellespont. A large fleet was equipped to accompany the army with supplies. In 492 the army set out but suffered constant attacks by savage Thracian tribes, and the fleet was dashed to pieces by a storm near the rocky promontory off Mount Athos. As a result Mardonius was forced to retreat into Asia. Two years later a second expedition was made against Greece and on a larger scale. The command was entrusted to the Median Datis and the younger Artaphernes. They set out in the spring of 490 direct from Euboea. Naxos was taken and Eretria destroyed. The Athenians and Plataeans, under Miltiades, met the Persians at Marathon and utterly defeated them. This was the first great victory over the Persians in the open field. By this victory Athens rendered immortal service to Europe and the cause of civilization. For the Greeks themselves the victory proved an inspiration for later daring enterprise. Darius ordered preparations for a new expedition to wipe out the disgrace of Marathon, but did not live to carry out his plans.

In Egypt Darius promoted material well-being. By building a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea he increased facilities for commerce. He had early offered a reward for the finding of a new Apis to take the place of the one killed by Cambyses. This won him the favor of his subjects. The new Apis lived till the thirty-first year of Darius. The prudent rule of the Persian king gave him a place among six great lawgivers in the legal code of the Egyptians.¹ But the old hatred against the Persians rose again and in the last years of Darius Egypt was in a state of revolt against the empire.

After the death of Darius his son Xerxes (Chšajâršâ) I, through the influence of his mother Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, succeeded him on the throne, 485-464. He was in all points inferior to Darius. With him begins a series of weak and unworthy kings, and a consequent decline of the empire held together only by the solid foundation which Darius had given it. Unfortunately the sources for the Persian

¹ Justi *op. cit.* 55.

history after Darius are few. The inscriptions are fewer than before and give less of the events of the reigns of kings. Herodotus closes his account with the battle of Plataea, so that we are thrown back upon the fragmentary accounts especially of Greek writers. "What we gather from classic writers as to the affairs of the Persian court is a sad history of alternate weakness and cruelty, corruption, murders, intrigues and broken faith."¹

Xerxes suppressed the revolt of Egypt which had broken out during the last years of his father Darius, and laid a much harder yoke upon them. The king's own brother Achaemenes became satrap of the country. In Babylon the Persian satrap Zopyrus was murdered, but his son Megabyzus suppressed the revolt.

The most important undertaking of Xerxes was the conquest of Greece. Darius had resolved to wipe out the stain of Marathon, but was kept from it through frequent revolts in the empire and his death. Xerxes now decided to carry out his predecessor's resolve. Extensive preparations were made and the king himself set out to Sardis, the first rendezvous. Supplies were collected and the Hellespont bridged. In the spring of 480 Xerxes, with an army of at least a million soldiers, besides attendants, and accompanied by a fleet of 1,200 ships, set out on the expedition. Greece was forced into hurried preparation and a greater unity than before existed among the different states. The one great change in Greece since the victory of Marathon that was against Xerxes was the building of a great fleet through the efforts of Themistocles. Athens had become, during the last few years, the greatest naval power in Hellas. Xerxes entered Greece without a blow. The Thessalian cities joined the invaders with their powerful cavalry. The Greeks decided to make a stand at Thermopylae, but in vain, for the Persian army forced their way, after a three days' battle over the dead bodies of Leonidas and his faithful three hundred. At Pelusium four hundred Persian ships were wrecked in a storm and the rest were checked by the Greeks in a sternly contested conflict. Xerxes now advanced on Athens and was joined by nearly all the states of central Greece. The city was abandoned and the Athenians took refuge on their fleet. Themistocles, delaying the retreat of the fleet at Salamis, sent a treacherous

¹ C. P. Tiele Art. "Persia" in *E. B.* III. 3,674.

message to Xerxes pretending friendship, notifying him of the weakness and dissension of the Greeks. Xerxes accepted the treacherous advice to block the straits in order to prevent their escape. The only thing to do now was to fight. The Persian fleet more than doubled the Greek which consisted of 378 ships. A conflict lasting from dawn till night resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Greeks.

Xerxes, boastfully and vaingloriously watching the struggle from the shore, now cowardly and effeminately resolved to return to Asia instead of pressing farther inland. He left the land-forces under Mardonius who withdrew to Thessaly to spend the winter. Athens was burned a second time and Attica laid waste. The next spring the final contest was fought near Plataea, 479, where the Persian army of nearly 300,000 was almost completely destroyed by the Greek force of about one-third that number. This was the turning-point of Persian history. The Persians were thrown back on the defensive. The defeat was so complete that no hostile Persian dared ever set foot on European Greece again. Oriental centralized despotism was crushed by the rising freedom and republican individualism. The fall of Persia resulted in the ripening of Greek art and thought.

Xerxes retreated into the depths of Asia. The Greeks, invited by the Greek islanders, crossed over to the Asiatic coast and at Mycale, near Miletus, the rest of the Persian fleet was annihilated. All the islands of the Aegean were permanently wrested from the Persians and the liberation of the Asiatic coast was begun. This defeat in Greece worked disadvantageously in the empire at home. In the very heart of the empire, as well as in the distant frontier, tribes were regaining their independence. More dangerous for the empire was the confidence the victory of the Greeks put into their minds to turn the spear and to enter into the enemy's own home. It was left for Alexander the Great to do this. Xerxes was assassinated by Artabanus, captain of the body-guard. His younger brother Artaxerxes, in league with the murderer, put to death his older brother Darius, who had a better title to the throne. Artabanus was soon afterwards put out of the way by Artaxerxes,¹ who thereby made himself secure for the throne.

¹ Cf. *Justi op. cit.* 126 for another view.

Artaxerxes (Artachšathra) I, surnamed Longimanus (Μακρόχειρ) by the Greeks, became king in his father's stead, 464-424. Immediately after his accession he had to quiet the revolt of the Bactrians which may have been instigated by the king's older brother Hystaspis, then satrap of Bactria. After two battles they were brought to subjection.

In Egypt a second revolt broke out, this time through Inarus, son of Psammetich, a Libyan prince who was proclaimed king over all Egypt. He had stirred up a revolt against the satrap Achaemenes who fell in battle. Inarus summoned aid from Athens. The Persians in turn sought help from Sparta but failed. The Persians then dispatched a large army from Syria, under Megabyzus, who was at that time satrap of Syria. After hard fighting the Athenians in Egypt were wiped out, and Inarus was captured and crucified. Upon this followed a treaty of peace between Persia and Athens. The Persians agreed to send no ships of war into Greek waters and the Athenians in turn renounced all rights in the eastern seas.

Meanwhile the jealousy between Athens and Sparta increased and resulted in the Peloponnesian war, 431-404. By reason of this war Persia was secure from her greatest foe, Athens. During the early years of war there was repeated communication between Sparta and Persia. The Spartans wanted the assistance of Persia in the war, but were not skilful in obtaining it, and the Persians were too ignorant and selfish to grant it. Athens also sought help from Persia but naturally in vain.

Artaxerxes was not a bad but a weak man, governed by courtiers and women. His mother Amestris and her daughter Amytes, wife of Megabyzus, both cruel and dissolute women, exercised a controlling influence on him. He rendered his chief service to the empire in replenishing the finances which were exhausted during the wars of Xerxes, and in restoring order throughout his empire.

Within his reign fall the activity of the prophet Malachi, the rebuilding of the wall through the efforts of Nehemiah, and the introduction of the law through Ezra. The memoirs of Nehemiah and of Ezra are compositions that were written at this time. Significant is the quarrel of Megabyzus, satrap of Syria, with the Persian court, a quarrel which lasted several years and was brought to a close

only after a severe conflict. In the treaty of peace Megabyzus was granted full pardon. "It is not improbable that this war was the occasion of the destruction of the walls and gates of Jerusalem lamented by Nehemiah."¹

After the long reign of Artaxerxes followed two sudden changes on the throne. The only one of his eighteen sons eligible, Xerxes II, the son of Damaspia, was murdered by his half-brother Sogdianus, the son of the Babylonian Alôgune, forty-five days after his accession. He in turn was overthrown by his brother Ochus, satrap of Hyrkania, after a reign of six and a half months, and in violation of solemn oaths was put to death. Ochus assumed the name of Darius II, 423-404. The Greeks called him Nothus (Bastard). He left the supreme power in the hands of his sister and consort Parysatis, the prompter of all his acts and all his crimes. The empire in the hands of a weak ruler became the scene of uncontrollable rebellions. In Syria and in Asia Minor there were repeated revolts. Soon after 410 Egypt was lost to the Persians for a period of over sixty years. The throne of Phraortes was again established with Amyrtaeus as the first independent king. For all this time the Persians were unable to reduce the unwarlike Egyptians, a fact which shows the weakness of the Persians rather than the strength of the Egyptians who were frequently divided by internal strife.

In Greece the Peloponnesian war was hastened to a close by a dreadful catastrophe in Sicily, where two hundred perfectly equipped ships and over 4,000 men were pitilessly sacrificed through the miserable generalship of their leader Micias in 413. This gave the Persians hope to regain the seacoast. At once their satraps, both the untrustworthy Tissaphernes of Sardis and his rival, Pharnabazus of Hellespontine Phrygia, appeared upon the coast of the Aegean. The Spartans sought the aid of the Persians and offered to betray the Asiatic Greeks into their hands. The aid thus received enabled Sparta to carry on the war with Athens, a war which was hastening to a close. Cyrus, the younger son of Darius II, was made satrap of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and commander-in-chief of all the troops in Asia Minor, while the treacherous Tissaphernes retained only the seacoast. Cyrus had a burning desire to avenge the defeats

¹ Nöldeke *op. cit.* 56.

the Persians suffered from the Athenians. Hence he sought to ally himself closely with Sparta. Just at this time the command fell to the energetic unscrupulous Lysander. These two men were the ruin of Athens. Cyrus furnished the gold, Lysander did the work. In 405 her last fleet was captured at Aegospotami. Lysander in cold blood put to death the 4,000 Athenian citizens among the captives. In the following year the proud city surrendered to the mercy of her enemies and promised to follow Sparta in peace and war. The fall of Athens was at the same time the beginning of the fall of Hellas.

About the time of the peace between Athens and Sparta, Darius II died. His older son, Arsicas, ascended the throne as Artaxerxes II, later known as Mnemon (Thinker), 404-358. The younger son, Cyrus, was the abler and more powerful, far more worthy of the throne than his brother, and at the same time the favorite of his mother Parysatis. When Darius II was upon his death-bed Cyrus was summoned to his side, yet Artaxerxes was made king. Cyrus afterward made an attempt to seize the throne, but too late. He was arrested, and only at the request of Parysatis was he released and sent back to his satrapy. Within himself he was resolved to occupy his father's throne. He collected under false pretext an army of over 10,000 Greeks and 100,000 Persians, and in 401 set out in face of the greatest difficulties with the purpose of seizing the throne. His effort was a failure and he was slain in the battle of Cunaxa near Babylon. The leaders of his army perished through cruel and cowardly treachery. The 10,000 Greeks chose new generals and retreated through wild and mountainous regions to the Greek districts on the Euxine, suffering untold hardships both from the severe climate and the barbarous people.¹ The expedition revealed to the Greeks the weakness of the Persian empire, the cowardice of its rulers, and the great tracts of land regarded as royal territory but which were altogether independent. All this was remembered till the days of Alexander.

Sparta had rendered assistance to Cyrus and thus incurred the hatred of Persia. Agesilaus was burning with the ambition of freeing the Asiatic Greeks who, a little before, had been abandoned to Persia. This resulted in war between Sparta and Persia. In 396 Agesilaus

¹ Xen. *Anabasis* i-vii.

invaded Asia Minor with a large army. This in turn raised new enemies for Sparta in Greece, particularly Thebes and Corinth, who did not share equally in the Spartan gains in the victory over Athens. These cities now joined Athens and Argos against Sparta and Persia, who supplied the allies with gold. Agesilaus was recalled in 394. When he reached the frontier of Boeotia he heard the dread tidings that Conon, in command of a Phoenician fleet, had completely destroyed the Spartan naval power at Cnidus. With this the Spartan authority in the Aegean vanished at once. Their sovereignty over the seas, after lasting ten years, was forever gone. Athens was again raised to the place of one of the great powers, and Sparta fell back into her former position of one state among many.

After a few more years of indecisive war, Sparta sought peace with Persia. In 387 the two powers invited all the Greek states through their ambassadors, Antalcidas and Teribazus, to send deputies to Sardis, where the Persian king dictated the term of peace as follows:

King Artaxerxes deems it just that the cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should belong to himself; the rest of the Hellenic cities, both great and small, he will leave independent, save Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which three are to belong to Athens as of yore. Should any of the parties not accept this peace, I, Artaxerxes, together with those who share my views (the Spartans), will war against the offenders by land and sea.¹

This peace was a great gain to the Spartans, for they gave up nothing which they still possessed, and gained a greater power over the mainland than they had before, since Greece was divided into many petty little states. The only gain to Persia was a firm hold on the seacoast. It was known that the Persian empire was now much weaker than when peace was concluded with Athens and that it was now only maintained by Greek mercenaries. Sixteen years later, at the battle of Leuctra, 371, Sparta was overthrown and Thebes rose to supremacy under Philip of Macedon, to fall again at his death.

Another enemy rose up against Persia in the west. Euagoras of Salamis had become the almost independent lord of Cyprus. Athens was obliged to support him for the services of Conon in her behalf against Sparta. Although formally leagued with Persia against Sparta, Persia made great efforts to reduce him to subjection, but

¹ Xen. *Hellenica* v. 1.

did not succeed for ten years and then only in part. Euagoras was murdered but his descendants continued to be princes of Cyprian towns.

On the borders of the Caspian Sea the Kadusians, who perhaps were never completely subdued, kept annoying the king's territory. Artaxerxes made a disastrous campaign against them from which he escaped with his life only with great difficulty. There was repeated warring with Egypt also without accomplishing anything. The last part of the reign of Artaxerxes II was filled with revolts of the satraps of Asia Minor, which must have weakened the imperial power immensely in the western provinces and certainly prepared the way for Macedonia.

In Egypt Tachos now occupied the throne. In 361 he actually assumed the offensive against Persia. The Spartans sent them aid, for they were bitterly enraged against Persia on account of her recognition of the independence of Messinia. But when Tachos was engaged in Phoenicia his nephew Nectanebus set himself up as rival king. This obliged Tachos to take refuge with the Persians. This would have been an excellent opportunity for the Persians to subdue Egypt again but they made no effort in that direction.

Artaxerxes II was a mild and friendly monarch, but a man without energy. He suffered many misfortunes which a man of greater strength could have prevented. "The contempt for his brother which Cyrus exhibited was perfectly justified: under the effeminate king the empire gradually fell to pieces."¹ Not the energy of Artaxerxes but the dissensions among his enemies kept the empire from the fate which awaited it some twenty years later. With the exception of Egypt the empire remained, in name at least, the Persian empire. After having reigned forty-five or forty-six years Artaxerxes died. His oldest son Darius had been declared by his father as his successor. But before his father's death Darius incurred his ill-will. Atossa, wife as well as daughter of Artaxerxes, espoused the interests of Ochus, a younger son. Darius, through the discontented courtier Teribazus, plotted to assassinate his father. He failed in his attempt and both he and Teribazus were put to death. This improved the chances of Ochus, but there were still two older brothers in the way,

¹ Nöldeke *op. cit.* 75.

Arsanes and Ariaspes. Both of these Ochus had removed, one by treacherous poisoning, the other by assassination, so that he now stood next in order.

After Artaxerxes II died, Ochus (Vakuka) became king under the name of Artaxerxes III, 358-338. As king he manifested the same sanguinary dispositions as those by which he placed himself on the throne. At the very beginning of his reign he massacred a number of his nearest relatives, among them his two younger brothers and his sister Ocha, in order to secure himself on the throne. Such executions were common to oriental despots. Even Alexander the Great put several near relatives to death after ascending the throne. For a while the whole empire seemed to be in a state of dissolution. A century and a quarter had passed since the days of Darius I, and this was a period of gradual weakening and decay of the empire. The heritage of Ochus was anything but desirable. Artabazus, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, deserted to the court of Philip of Macedonia, and with him the Rhodian Memnon, his brother-in-law. Orontes also became an enemy of the king and entered into alliance with the Athenians. In Egypt the war continued. Phoenicia, previously so trustworthy, also revolted, and with it Cyprus. Judea likewise was rebellious against Persia. It required all the energy of the cruel king to bring these revolting countries into subjection again. In this task, however, he proved himself efficient.

After the battle at Leuctra, 371, Thebes was at the head of Greece. This lasted for a short time only, for on the north a new nation was forming itself which was destined by reason of its able kings to rise to that primacy for which Sparta, Athens, and Thebes in turn had vainly striven. A consolidated monarchy came into conflict with divided and mutually jealous states. This country was Macedonia, with the ambitious and powerful Philip II at its head. Demosthenes tried in vain to stir up Greece against the inroads of Philip. The monarch invaded Greece with a powerful army, and both Athens and Thebes were crushed at the battle of Chaeronea, 338. This left Philip master of Greece. The history of Hellas was ended. All this was a preparation on a large scale for the final conquest and overthrow of Persia through the son and successor of Philip, only a few years later.

It appears that Ochus was keen enough to see the danger of his empire through Philip, and that he entered into negotiations with Athens and rendered her assistance. There are evidences also that Philip entered into a treaty with Ochus. This may have been in good faith on the part of Persia, but not so with Philip, who simply wanted time enough to conquer Greece before invading Persia. By his great energy Ochus smothered every revolt and really restored for the time the Persian supremacy. He was murdered by Bagoas, an Egyptian eunuch, and his youngest son Arses was placed on the throne.¹

Of the reign of Arses, 338-335, little is known. In the spring of 336 a Macedonian army for the first time crossed over into Asia under the command of Parmenio, but little or nothing was accomplished, for Parmenio was recalled when in the same year Philip was assassinated. Memnon, in command in Asia Minor, probably soon won back all the Macedonian conquests. When Arses tried to get rid of his patron, Bagoas poisoned him and gave the crown to Darius, the great-grandson of Darius II.

Darius III, Codomannus, 335-331, was about forty-five years of age when he was placed on the throne. Bagoas could not have made a worse choice. He had hoped to rule Darius, but being unable to do so he prepared the poison cup for him. The king noticing his intention compelled Bagoas to drink the cup. Unlike Ochus, Darius was an incapable despot whom Alexander could easily conquer. He was "a king no better than Xerxes, valiant perhaps in ordinary fights but quickly confused in great emergencies, and in no wise equal to the gigantic task imposed on his weak shoulders."²

Philip of Macedon was succeeded on the throne by his son Alexander, then only twenty years old. He at once showed himself both statesman and general, to the great surprise of his subjects. The revolts all over the empire were quickly suppressed. Thebes was razed to the ground because of revolt. The other cities were frightened into submission. Early in the spring of 334 he crossed the Hellespont with 35,000 disciplined troops. He swept everything before him with wonderful rapidity. At the Granicus, a small

¹ For a full treatment of the reign of Ochus *vide* chap. ii, pp. 26 f.

² C. P. Tiele Art. "Persia" in *E. B. III.* 3,674.

stream in the Troad, the Persians, under the leadership of the satraps of Asia Minor, attempted to check his advance, but their large army was utterly routed. This victory made Alexander master of all Asia Minor. The Rhodian Memnon, at this time at the head of a fleet that ruled the sea, purposed to recall Alexander by carrying war into Greece. Island after island was captured. The Greeks began to look to Memnon to save them from the Macedonian power. But just then Memnon died and his successor, Pharnabazus, was unable to carry out his plans, greatly to the advantage of Alexander.

Before marching farther inland the Mediterranean coast had first to be made secure. Hence Alexander turned to the south. At Issus a Persian army of 600,000, led by Darius himself, met him in November in 333, and was driven back with great loss. Cyprus surrendered to the Macedonians. Egypt hailed Alexander as their deliverer. In the spring of 331, after founding the city that bears his name, Alexander left Egypt and marched through Syria to the northeast. In October of the same year he won the decided victory over the large Persian army, said to have numbered a million soldiers, at Gaugamela. Darius fled for safety to Media. The battle was decisive. The Persian empire was ended, and Alexander was temporary master of the whole east. The march was continued eastward and the capitals of the empire, Babylon, Susiana, Ecbatana, and Persepolis, surrendered with all their enormous treasure. Darius was pursued and finally captured by Bessus, satrap of Bactria, and slain in 330. The last of the Achaemenian great kings had fallen.

Bessus assumed the title of king as Artaxerxes IV, not altogether without ground, for he was a relative of Darius. After many an adventure he came into the power of Alexander who had him brought to Ecbatana to be executed. The campaign was carried far into the east, beyond the Indus to the mountainous regions, until Alexander was forced to return because his soldiers refused to advance any farther. During his absence Baryaxes declared himself king of Media and Persia, but was soon captured and executed. Alexander returned to Babylon which he made his capital. Europe and Asia had joined hands. There was one mighty world-empire subject to the will of one world-emperor. And this also was of short duration.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF OCHUS AND HIS REIGN, 358-338

A. THE HISTORICAL SOURCES

Diodorus Siculus was born in Agyrium in Sicily and lived during the reigns of Caesar and Augustus, 49 B. C.-14 A. D. He wrote a universal history in forty books, called *Βιβλιοθήκη*, a work covering a period of eleven hundred years and extending to the subjugation of Gaul and Brittany through Caesar. He labored forty years at this work, wrote without careful criticism, and often embodied undigested fragments from his sources. Only Books I-V, the early history of Egypt, Ethiopia, Assyria, and other oriental nations, as well as of Greece, and Books XI-XX, 480-302, are preserved. Of other books fragments remain. For Book XVI, covering the reign of Ochus, he used the history of Ephorus composed in the fourth century, consequently close to or during the reign of Ochus.¹

Flavius Josephus was born in Jerusalem, 37 A. D., and lived till after the death of Agrippa II who died in the third year of Trajan in the year 100. He was a descendant of John Hyrcanus, of priestly family, and a Pharisee. After the war of Titus against Jerusalem Josephus went to Rome where he wrote his four works: (1) *Bellum Judaicum* in seven books, relating the history of the siege and fall of Jerusalem under Titus, 66-63; (2) *Antiquitates Judaicae* in twenty books, telling the history of the Jews from the beginning till the outbreak of the war in 66; (3) *Vita*, an autobiography; and (4) *Contra Appionem*, concerning the antiquity of the Jews. His works were all written in Greek.²

The Persian period is treated in *Ant.* xi. Of this book one section, xi. 7.1, is often quoted as giving information of the treatment of the Jews under Ochus. But this falls in the post-biblical period. The whole period from Nehemiah to Antiochus Epiphanes, 440-175, is filled largely with legendary material.³ Yet the passage in question

¹ Cf. Schürer *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes* I. 107.

² *Ibid.* 74-106.

³ *Ibid.* 82.

is generally accepted as historically reliable, in spite of Wellhausen¹ who calls it a loose anecdote of doubtful origin with which Josephus seeks to fill out the gap between Nehemiah and the Maccabees. Marquart² follows Wellhausen, and like Willrich,³ after him, supposes that Josephus based his information on the lost work of Jason of Cyrene, who, about the middle of the second century, wrote a history, in five books, on the Maccabaeen uprising from its beginning till the victory of Judas over Nicanor, 161. But if so, why should Jason embody it in his history if it is merely legendary? The account of so significant an event could scarcely find credence without some historical fact back of it.

Plutarch of Chaeronea, in Beotia, lived from about 46-120 A. D. His great work is the *Biographies of Illustrious Greeks and Romans* of which about fifty are extant. Information is contained in the Life of Artaxerxes II and of Alexander the Great. For Artaxerxes his main source was the *History of the Persians* by Dinon of Colophon, of the latter half of the fourth century B. C.,⁴ a work which unfortunately is lost. Plutarch's diligence as a historian cannot be questioned even if his accuracy in some points is impeached.⁵

Flavius Arrianus, a Greek of Asia Minor, born ca. 100 A. D., wrote the *Anabasis of Alexander*. This work is based on reliable sources such as the Royal Court-Journal, the works of Ptolemaeus, afterwards king of Egypt, and those of Aristobulus, who was with Alexander in his Asiatic campaign.⁶

Dio Cassius, born at Nicea in Bithynia ca. 150 A. D., was a man of public career in Rome. He wrote a history of Rome about 211-229, consisting of eighty books. Of the first thirty-four books only small fragments, and of the next two books larger portions remain. Books xxxvii-liv are complete. Of books lv-xl larger portions are left, while of the remaining twenty only extracts of Xiphilus, who wrote in the eleventh century, are left.⁷

Caius Julius Solinus, a Roman writer of the third century of the Christian era, born ca. 230, is the author of *Collectanea Rerum Memor-*

¹ *Jüd. und Isr. Gesch.* 192.

² *Philologus* liv. 509.

³ *Juden und Griechen vor der Mak. Erhebung* 88 f.

⁴ E. Meyer *Gesch. des Alt.* III, § 6.

⁶ Swoboda *Griechische Gesch.* 171.

⁵ Art. "Plutarch" in *E. B.*

⁷ Schürer *op. cit.* I. 109.

abilium in fifty-six books. His principal source was Plinius *Historia Naturalis*. The extract is chiefly of geographical contents known by the title "Polyhistor." The part that concerns us here is the reference to the destruction of Jerusalem and of Jericho, 35.4. The best edition is that of Th. Mommsen, 1895. What immediately precedes the quotation is based on Plinius v. 71, 72. The quotation itself Mommsen ascribes to an unknown source, and identifies "Hierichus" with "Machaerus" after Plinius v. 72: "Machaerus secunda quondam arx Judaeae ab Hierosolymis."¹ It is evident, however, that the last part of the quotation: "et haec desivit Artaxerxis bello subacta," is not from Plinius. Hence it is best with Hoelscher to retain "Hierichus" as in Solinus.²

Eusebius Pamphili, *ca.* 265–340 A. D., in his *Chronikon* preserves some of the writings of the Christian chronographers of the time of the emperors, who based their writings on those of Hellenistic chronographers, chief of whom were Eratosthenes at the close of the third century, and Apollodorus, of Athens, in the second half of the second century.³ Probably from Alexander Polyhistor and in the last analysis dating from a Jewish Hellenist. The historic trustworthiness is not to be doubted.⁴

Upon Eusebius are based the references in Paulus Orosius,⁵ a Christian priest born in Spain toward the close of the fourth century, in his *Historia adversus Paganos* in seven books.

Also the *Chronographia* (Ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας) of Georgius Syncellus, a Byzantine historian of the eighth century. It contains the history from creation to 285 A. D. It is preserved in the *Chronikon* of Eusebius. For a knowledge of the Christian chronographers the *Chronikon* of Syncellus is next to Eusebius the most important work. It is dominated fully by the theological spirit.⁶

Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus, a son of Eusebius, born *ca.*

¹ Solinus ed. Mommsen 154 n.

² *Palästina in der pers. und hellen. Zeit* 47.

³ Unger Die Chronik des Apollodorus, in *Philologus* xl. 602–51.

⁴ Marquart *op. cit.* 509–10. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Einl. in das Studium der alten Gesch.*, 1895, 163–76.

⁵ Schürer *op. cit.* I. 6.

⁶ Cf. K. Krumbacher in Müller's *Altertums Wissenschaft*, 1891, IX. 118–19.

340 in Stridon of Dalmatia, wrote the second part of the *Chronikon* of his father in Latin and continued the same from 325-379.¹

Justinus, sometime before the fifth century, wrote his *Historiae Philippicae*, a work in forty-four books, which he himself describes in his preface as a collection of the most important and interesting passages from the voluminous *Historiae Philippicae et totius Mundi Origines et Terrae Situs*, written in the time of Augustus by Trogus Pompeius. The work of Trogus is lost, but the Prologi, or the table of contents of the forty-four books, and a few fragments of the text are preserved by Justinus and Plinius. Even these Prologi and brief extracts contain a large amount of valuable information.² E. Meyer thinks it probable that Justinus also obtained his information from Eusebius.³

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¹ See A. Schöne *Die Weltchronik des Eusebius in ihrer Bearbeitung durch Hieronymus*, 1900.

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C. THE EMPIRE OF OCHUS

When Ochus ascended the throne of Persia the empire was nominally as large as in 485, when Darius I died, although there had been many revolts all over the empire during the century and a quarter preceding. The successors of Darius were insignificant weaklings, unable to carry out the plans of the great organizer. Consequently there had been a gradual weakening and dissolution. Egypt had established its own government under Amyrtaos in 408, and was in reality no longer a part of the Persian empire, although Persia never recognized its independence. Many cities of Asia Minor also claimed independence. Phoenicia and Cyprus were in a state of revolt. The empire handed over to Ochus by his predecessors was a tottering structure, held together only by the strong organization effected through Darius I, and because there was no other great power ready to conquer and destroy it. Yet at the immediate time of his accession there seems to have been a short time of quiet and rest.

In extent no empire before this had such vast dimensions as the Persian. From the Indus and the Oxus on the east to the Aegean, the Bosphorus, and Cyprus on the west, all was one vast empire. Its northern boundary was formed by the Euxine and the Caspian seas, with the Caucasus mountains between them, while its southern limits extended to the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and Arabia. Egypt formed the southwestern limits of the empire, including a part of Ethiopia and Libya on the west. The capital of the empire was Babylon. The divisions of the empire into satrapies, first established by Darius I, was still in vogue. There was the same central government, although the strong man at the center was wanting. Wealth and force, not mind and intelligence, were the

controlling powers. The period of active growth had passed and the time of decline and decay had set in.

D. THE EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF OCHUS

As we have seen before, Ochus ascended the throne of Cyrus with bloody hands. He had a considerable following at the court and hoped through Atossa, his mother and sister, to win the king's favor. He won her to his side through a promise to marry her after his father's death and to make her a partaker in the reign. Slanderous reports concerning him reached his father who then appointed Darius as his successor.¹ Before the death of Artaxerxes II, Darius incurred his ill-will and so lost his claim to the throne. Upon this he made an attempt at the life of his father through Tiribazus. The plot failed and both he and Tiribazus were executed together with fifty others connected with the plot.² There were yet two brothers older than Ochus, Arsames and Ariaspes, who were in his way. Ariaspes was considered worthy of the throne by the Persian people on account of his gentleness, uprightness, and friendliness. He was recognized as a reasonable and intelligent man. Ochus knew this and consequently sought his brother's death. He so annoyed and vexed him continually that Ariaspes ended his own life by drinking the cup of poison. Artaxerxes was too old to see the treachery in this and afterwards loved Arsames all the more and placed full confidence in him. Ochus delayed no longer now. He compelled Harpates, son of Tiribazus, to put Arsames out of the way. Artaxerxes in his old age could not resist any further. Grief and sorrow ended his life in a little while.³

Ochus now stood first, and became king in his father's place, 358. As king he manifested the same sanguinary dispositions as those by which he had placed himself on the throne. Whether by reason of a troubled conscience or from fear of revenge he did not rest till he had killed the remaining members of his family. His sister Ocha, whose daughter he had in the harem, was buried alive.⁴ His two younger brothers were assassinated.⁵ One of his uncles, with his whole family and children and grandchildren, eighty in one day,

¹ Plut. *Artax.* 26.

⁴ Justi *Gesch. des alten Persiens* 107.

² Justinus x. 2.

⁵ Grote *Hist. of Greece* x. 507.

³ Plut. *Artax.* 30.

he ordered to be shot in his courtyard.¹ That he did not put to death all his near relatives is seen from the fact that some appear in later history. His successor, Darius III, and his brother, Oxyathres, were great-grandsons of Darius I. Mithredates, the son-in-law of Darius, and Pharmaces, his wife's brother, are mentioned after the death of Ochus. So also Arbupales, a son of Darius, the brother of Ochus, is mentioned in 334,² and Bisthanes, a son of Ochus, in 330.³ From all the murderous acts of the king Plutarch is justified in saying that Ochus excelled all his predecessors in cruelty and bloodthirstiness.⁴

The difficulties of Ochus were not ended when he had secured the throne and the court. The revolts suppressed by Artaxerxes II were only temporarily quieted. Artabazus, satrap of the Hellespontine Phrygia, like Datames and Ariobarzanes, his immediate predecessor, had rebelled against Artaxerxes II and was captured by Autophradates, but afterwards released. Now when Ochus, in 356, ordered all satraps on the coast whose revolt he feared to discharge their mercenary troops, the orders were obeyed. But when Ochus wanted Artabazus, his nephew—the mother of Artabazus, Aspama, being the daughter of Ochus—to give an account for his previous revolt he refused.⁵ At the time of the social war, about 355, he fought against the king's satraps and was powerfully supported by the Athenians. When rumors of the king's threats against the Athenians were spread, they left Artabazus in the lurch. But since he was well furnished with money he was able to procure the services of the Theban Pammenes, with 5,000 men, and maintained himself for a long time.⁶ When the Thebans also entered into an understanding with the king, his fortune took a turn.⁷ In the year 345 Artabazus was a fugitive at the court of Philip of Macedon and with him his brother-in-law, the Rhodian Memnon, one of the most distinguished generals of his time.⁸ After the reconquest of Egypt, two years later, Memnon's brother Mentor was rewarded for his services in the war with Egypt with a hundred talents of silver and

¹ Justinus x. 3. 1.

² Arrian i. 16.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 19.

⁴ *Artax.* 30.

⁵ Diod. xvi. 22; Plut. *Artax.* 16.

⁶ Diod. xvi. 34.

⁷ *Ibid.* 40.

⁸ *Ibid.* 52.

other precious gifts, and at the same time was appointed satrap over the rebellious portions on the coast of Asia. Mentor stood in close relation with Memnon and Artabazus and procured pardon for them and their families. From then on till the overthrow of the empire Artabazus remained loyal.¹

At the same time Artabazus revolted came also the revolt of Orontes, satrap of eastern Armenia under his father-in-law Artaxerxes II.² He had fought for the king against Euagoras, king of Salamis in Cyprus 386-363. An intrigue against Tiribazus gave him the chief command in the Cyprian war.³ When his treachery was discovered the king was displeased and deprived him of his position as satrap of Armenia and banished him to Mysia where he was satrap under the immediate oversight of Autophradates, the most faithful of all satraps. When, at the close of the reign of Artaxerxes II, there was a general uprising in western Asia against the king of Persia, he was appointed commander of the troops of Asia Minor. When the plan failed he betrayed his troops with the hopes of becoming satrap of the coast lands, the position of Cyrus the Younger and of his successor, Tissaphernes.⁴ His hopes, however, were not realized. He did not get the position he desired, as a reward for his treachery, but Armenia, of which he was deprived twenty years before.⁵ He then entered into an understanding with Nectanebus of Egypt, but before the death of Artaxerxes II was forced to submit again.⁶

And now, after Ochus was upon the throne, this same Orontes⁷ revolted again and still with the same aim of becoming satrap of the coast districts, 254-253, and became the king's most dangerous opponent next to Egypt.⁸ He entered into an alliance with Athens. At this time a rumor was current that the king of Persia was preparing a great expedition against Athens and Greece. The Greeks probably felt guilty on account of their wavering policy, and the mercenary support which they had repeatedly lent to rebellious

¹ Diod. xvi. 52.

² Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4. 8; 5. 40; iii. 4. 13; 5. 17; iv. 3. 4; cf. Plut. *Artax.* 27.

³ Diod. xv. 8, 9, 18.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* 91.

⁷ Judeich *Kleinasiatische Studien* 221-25.

⁵ Justinus *Prol.* x.

⁸ Demosth. *De Symmoriis* xiv. 31.

satraps. Demosthenes warned the Athenians against taking a hostile attitude towards the king on the grounds of mere rumors, and advised not to offend the king frivolously, 351.¹ It is probable that Orontes, after concluding a peace favorable to himself, finally obtained what he so long desired, the satrapy of the coast regions, a position he held till after the reconquest of Egypt in 343, when Mentor of Rhodes was appointed to this office by Ochus for the valuable services rendered in that war.²

Phoenicia and Cyprus first came under Persian dominion in the days of Darius I. A century later Artaxerxes II, after a war of six years against Euaxares, king of Salamis, on Cyprus, again reduced them to submission from which they never afterwards were able to rise to independence.³ Toward the close of the reign of Artaxerxes II there was a general revolt of the western states. Egypt, already independent, would have delighted to see other states withdraw from the Persian empire. The satrapies of Asia Minor also desired independence. A general revolt was agreed upon but was suppressed before any real outbreak. This, however, was only the lull before the storm. Through the instigation of Egypt the cities of Phoenicia revolted and were joined by the kings of Cyprus. Eua-goras II was at this time king of Salamis, 352.⁴

The revolt broke out in Sidon. It was the custom of the Persian kings wherever they stayed for any length of time to build a park where everything beautiful and valuable which the country produced, both of plants and of animals, was collected. Such a park was at Sidon.⁵ This was destroyed by the Sidonians. The hay which the Persian officials had collected for the war with Egypt was burned. The officials themselves were slain. The immediate cause for this revolt may have been the wounding of their religious feelings by the Persian officials, a point on which Semitic people are particularly sensitive.⁶ Tyre and Aradus joined with Sidon and soon all Phoenicia was under revolt. Nectanebus II, of Egypt, in answer to a request from Tennes, king of Sidon, sent 4,000 Greek mercenaries under

¹ Demosth. *De Rhodiorum Libertate* 191 f.

² Judeich *op. cit.* 217-20.

³ Diod. xv. 8-10.

⁴ *Ibid.* 41, 42.

⁵ Justi *op. cit.* 82.

⁶ Nöldeke *op. cit.* 77.

the command of the Rhodian Mentor. Ochus, still engaged in the preparation for the great campaign, sent Belesys, satrap of Syria, and Mizaeus of Cilicia, to check the revolt, but they were driven back by Mentor.¹

While this was taking place there arose a war on the island of Cyprus. On that island there were nine principal cities and many smaller ones subject to these. Each city had a king, subject to the king of Persia. Following the example of Phoenicia, the nine kings agreed to sever their connection with Persia. In the spring of 350 Ochus sent Idrieus, satrap of Caria, with a fleet of forty triremes and 8,000 Greek mercenaries, led by the Athenian Phocion, and with him Euagoras, formerly a king on the island. They blockaded the city of Salamis by land and by sea. Volunteers came from Syria and Cilicia with the expectation of obtaining a share in the spoils of the city, so that the army of Phocion was doubled.² All the cities except Salamis surrendered to the Persians. Euagoras desired the office of king of Salamis, but Ochus retained Pnytagoras, then king, who had surrendered to the Persians after the destruction of Sidon.³ He was king of Salamis till the time of Alexander the Great. Thus the island was once more reduced to submission under the Persian power.

Before the surrender of Salamis the king of Persia had left Babylon and moved with his army toward Phoenicia. His army consisted of 300,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 horsemen, 300 triremes, and 500 ships of burden, besides other ships to convey provisions. When Tennes heard of the size of the king's army he lost courage. To save his own life he resolved to betray his city into the enemy's hands. So he sent his servant Thessalion privily to Ochus with a promise not only to surrender Sidon but to render him valuable services in the reconquest of Egypt. The king rejoiced greatly over this and promised Tennes rich rewards. Of this he gave Thessalion the most reliable security.⁴

Ochus considered the conquest of the greatest importance and consequently sent to the largest cities in Greece to aid him in the expedition. Athens and Sparta replied that they wished to keep the

¹ Diod. xvi. 41, 42.

³ *Ibid.* 46.

² *Ibid.* 42.

⁴ *Ibid.* 43.

friendship with Persia but that they could not send any troops. Thebes replied with 1,000 heavy armed soldiers under Lacrates; Argos sent 3,000 men at the king's request and consented to let Nicostratus go as commander; the coast cities of Asia sent 6,000 men, making a total of 10,000. Before their arrival the king had encamped near Sidon, 348.¹

Because of the king's delay the Sidonians had provided themselves with sufficient troops and provisions. A triple wall was constructed around the city. They also had more than a hundred triremes and quinqueremes. Tennes now persuaded Mentor to assist in the betrayal and left him in the city, while he himself went out under pretext of going to counsel with the king and took with him a hundred of the leading citizens of Sidon. When he came near the camp he had the hundred men arrested and delivered to Ochus. The king received Tennes as a friend and had the hundred men shot with spears as instigators of the revolt. Afterwards 500 Sidonians, with the signal of fugitives, came to Ochus beseeching him for mercy for the city. These also were captured and slain, so relentless was his anger for the murder of his officers. Tennes then persuaded the Egyptian mercenaries to let him and the king into the city. The betrayer's turn came next, for he thought now to have no more need of Tennes, and hence he had him slain. Before the king entered the city, the betrayed Sidonians, in their despair, burned all their ships so no one could flee for safety, and then set the city on fire and killed themselves and their dependents. It is said that 40,000 people perished. Ochus then sold the ruins to people who hoped to find melted gold and silver in the ashes.² The Greek mercenaries, with their commander Mentor, whom Nectanebus had sent to assist Sidon, now joined Ochus against Egypt. The remainder of Phoenicia readily submitted to the requests of Ochus. This was the severest blow the nation ever received in all its history. This tragic downfall of the once so powerful city must have made a deep impression on the whole world. It was the best preparation for the conquest of Egypt.

The one great aim of Ochus was the reconquest of Egypt.³ For

¹ *Ibid.* 44.

² *Ibid.* 45.

³ Judeich *op. cit.* chap. iv; Meyer *Gesch. des alten Aeg.* 394-96; Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.* II. 700-21.

the wider interests of the empire this was of greatest importance, both because of the great resources of that country and for warding off the danger that might arise from it if left unconquered. Egypt was first conquered by the Persians under Cambyses in 525. The Egyptians, however, never abandoned the hope of regaining their independence. Repeated attempts resulted in failure until in 408, when under Amyrtaeus the desired end was accomplished and Egypt was again independent for a period of sixty-five years. But Persia was unwilling to let go of so valuable a portion of its own empire. Consequently, after the accession of Artaxerxes II to the throne in 404, repeated efforts were made to regain the lost territory. Persia in fact never recognized the independence of Egypt. Already in 389, and again in 374, expeditions were made to subdue the revolting Egyptians but without any encouraging results for Persia. In the early part of his reign Artaxerxes II was occupied in withstanding the attempts of his brother Cyrus the Younger to seize the crown.¹ All through his reign disintegrating forces were at work within the empire, which the king was unable to check completely. Consequently his ability for reconquering Egypt was weakened.² On the other hand, Egypt never ceased to stir up revolts in Asia Minor and Phoenicia and Cyprus against the hated Persians.

In the great revolt of the satraps of Asia Minor, in 361, Egypt took an active part. King Tachos sent them money and ships, and planned to move aggressively against Persia with the help of the Spartan king, Agesilaos, and the Athenian Chabrias. He was equipped with 200 well-manned triremes under command of Chabrias, 10,000 chosen Greek mercenaries under Agesilaos, and 80,000 foot-soldiers of Egypt whom he himself commanded. Discord arose concerning the plans of the war and as soon as the expedition started out, the king's cousin, Nectanebus, rebelled against him and attempted to seize the throne. Agesilaos joined Nectanebus and the whole undertaking was speedily defeated. There was nothing left for Tachos but to flee. He first sought refuge with Straton, king of Sidon, and then fled to the king of Persia and surrendered himself unconditionally. He afterwards died at the king's court.³

¹ Xen. *Anab.* ii. 1. 14.

² Diod. xv.

³ *Ibid.* 92; Plut. *Agesilaos* 37, 38.

In the same year must have occurred an expedition against Egypt under the Persian prince Ochus, the first of the three expeditions made,¹ for we are definitely told by Eusebius² that Ochus made an expedition against Egypt while his father Artaxerxes was still living. Οὗτος ὁ Ὀχος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύσας ἔτι ζῶντος τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀρταξέρξου, ὥς καὶ ἄλλοι, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκράτησεν Αἰγύπτου, φεύγοντες Νεκτανεβῶ, ὥς τινες, εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν, ὥς δὲ ἕτεροι, εἰς Μακεδονίαν. It is not clear what the results were of this expedition. All that is known is that Nectanebus I was at this time the unlimited monarch of Egypt. Agesilaos was rewarded for his services, but on his way home he died in Cyrene.³

When Artaxerxes died and Ochus succeeded him on the throne, Egypt continued to be the main issue for the Persians. Extensive preparations were made and in 354⁴ a second campaign was directed against Egypt, this time not by Ochus in person but by his generals, the satraps of Asia Minor. The outcome was unfavorable to the Persians not only in its immediate results, but also in the effect it had on other portions of the empire and the world without.⁵ It encouraged Phoenicia and Cyprus and Cilicia to revolt. In 346 Isocrates⁶ used this failure as an argument for Philip to make war against Persia because it was no longer to be feared. τὰ τοῖνυν περὶ τὴν χώραν ὥς διάκειται, τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀκούσας παραξυνθείη πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν; Αἴγυπτος γὰρ ἀφειστήκαι μὲν καὶ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐφοβοῦντο μή ποτε βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ποιησάμενος στρατείαν κρατήσῃ καὶ τῆς διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν δυσχωρίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς ἀπάσης· νῦν δὲ οὗτος ἀπήλλαξεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ δέους τούτου. συμπαρασκευασάμενος γὰρ δύναμιν ὅσην οἶός τ' ἦν πλείστην, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν οὐ μόνον ἡττηθεὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγελασθεὶς, καὶ δόξας οὔτε βασιλεύειν οὔτε στρατηγεῖν ἄξιος εἶναι. And yet this failure did not discourage Ochus but stimulated him to make new and larger preparations.⁷ As we have seen before, Ochus set out from Babylon with a tremendous army and had

¹ Justinus *Prol.* x.

² Ed. Schöne 112 = *Sync.* 486. 20.

³ Diod. xv. 93.

⁴ Demosth. *De Rhod. Libertate* xv. 12.

⁵ Diod. xvi. 40, 41, 44, 48; Orosius iii. 7. 8.

⁶ *Ad Phil.* 102.

⁷ Diod. xvi. 40, 41.

encamped before Sidon which he cruelly destroyed in 348 and rendered all Phoenicia subject to his will.¹

This victory was itself the first step towards the conquest of Egypt. Other preparations were made. Ochus awaited the troops from Thebes and Argos. In 346 he made the first advance of his third campaign against Egypt. The troops missed the way of entrance and a part of the army perished in the Barathra, the Serbonian swamp between Mount Kasios and Damietta, half-way between Syria and Egypt, surrounded on all sides by sand-hills, which were frequently carried into the swamp, forming a bottomless marsh so that entire armies not knowing the nature of the swamp could sink down.² Ochus was forced to return to Phoenicia till the spring of the following year, when he again started out against Egypt.³ His army consisted of three divisions, led by three Greek and three Persian generals:⁴ the first of Boeotian mercenaries led by the Theban Lakrates and Rosaces, satraps of Ionia and Lydia; the second of troops from Argos led by Nikastrates and the Persian Aristabazus; the third of the Greek mercenaries sent by Egypt to Sidon, now led by the Rhodian Mentor and the Persian eunuch Bagoas. Ochus followed with the remaining troops as a reserve force.⁵

The army of Nectanebus consisted of 20,000 Greek and 20,000 Libyan mercenaries and 60,000 Egyptians. The land was well fortified. All the Nile entrances were strongly fortified, especially the one at Pelusium. But Nectanebus was no great general. Ochus advanced upon Pelusium. The Greek generals succeeded through their maneuvering to bring Nectanebus out of his position. Consequently he withdrew to Memphis. The approach of the army was enough to cause the coward to flee to Ethiopia. The remaining cities surrendered one after the other. The fortifications were broken down, the temples plundered and the sacred books carried away, and returned by Bagoas to the priests only after these paid large sums for them. Ochus treated the religion of Egypt with little more respect than did Cambyses before him. Not only did he desecrate

¹ Diod. xvi. 45; Isok. *Ad Phil.* 102.

⁴ Cf. Marquart *op. cit.* 507.

² Strabo xvi. 741, 760; Diod. i. 30.

⁵ Diod. xvi. 47.

³ Judeich *op. cit.* 173-76.

their temples but he even slaughtered the sacred animals. This may account for the fact that neither his name nor that of his successors is mentioned in the inscriptions.¹

This reconquest was a great triumph for Persia. Through it the name of Ochus received respect. Yet it was not hard to see that the victory was due to the Greek troops and commanders, and that the Persians did not conquer by reason of their ability in war but simply because they had the most money to pay mercenary troops. It was to Mentor and not to Bagoas that the king chiefly owed his success. Mentor was the real conqueror of Egypt, yet the presence of the king and his prompt decisions contributed much to the speedy results. Mentor was splendidly rewarded. He received the satrapy of the coast regions of Asia Minor. By cunning and treachery he quickly removed Hermias, the tyrant of Alarucus and the friend of Aristotle, who had concluded treaties like an independent prince and stood in suspicious relations with king Philip of Macedon.² The Greek mercenaries were paid and dismissed. Pherendates was appointed satrap of Egypt, and Ochus returned triumphantly to his capital, Babylonia, in 343.³ Egypt remained a Persian province till the close of the empire.

The rise of Macedonia as a political power dates from Philip II, 359-336. Before him it had no special bearing upon Persian history, although invaded and temporarily conquered by Xerxes in 480. While Philip entered upon the work of expanding his territory, his eyes were first of all fixed upon Greece. At first his invasions were resisted by Athens. For ten years there was war between them. The bitter opponent of Philip was Demosthenes, the greatest orator of Greece, who at this time had espoused the cause of the democracy, whose party leader he became. He saw more clearly than anyone else the designs of Philip, and recognized in him a dangerous enemy of Athens and of all Greece. And yet in spite of all opposition Philip advanced step by step into Greek territory. Pydna and Potidaea, two Athenian cities, fell in 356. Three years later Philip invaded Thessaly and Phocis, and obtained supremacy there. Demosthenes poured out his bitter invectives against Philip to arouse the Athenians to a sense of their danger.⁴ He believed the only safety

¹ *Ibid.* 48-51.

² *Ibid.* 52.

³ *Ibid.* 51.

⁴ *Phil.* i, p. 54.

for Greece now lay in an alliance with the Persians against Philip. He favored the negotiations now going on between Athens and the king of Persia, who indeed repeatedly sent subsidies for the conflict with Macedonia.

In 349 Philip advanced into Thrace and conquered the Athenian Olynthus. The only hope now of saving middle Greece from the inroads of Philip was to enter into a treaty of peace with him. Even Demosthenes consented to this. There arose at this time a Macedonian party right in Athens under the leadership of Aeschines, the rival politician of Demosthenes. Differences arose between the two orators which later resulted in unreconcilable animosity. A peace was, however, concluded in 346, which gave Philip the Athenian colonies on the Thracian coast. In a letter of Darius to Alexander it is definitely stated that Philip concluded a peace also with Ochus shortly after the reconquest of Egypt.¹ The king's intentions no doubt were pure but not so those of Philip. He had to subdue Greece first before he could conquer Asia Minor, and for this purpose peace with Persia was advantageous to him. The honest but politically shortsighted Isocrates overlooked this fact when he urged Philip to attack Persia. Philip saw in Persia a great obstacle to his aims for a large empire. Hence his attitude toward Persia was definite and decisive. Persia must recede before Macedonia. The only reason for delay was to await the proper moment. It is probable that Philip tried to gain a foothold in Asia Minor through Artabazus who had fled to his court for safety. But when Ochus, after the reconquest of Egypt, appointed the skilful general and diplomat, Mentor, and restored Artabazus to his hereditary satrapy, he understood the political situation. He thereby fortified Asia Minor. He was aware of Philip's plans. There was no immediate danger, but Ochus noticed the attempts of Philip to secure the mastery of the Bosphorus and of the Hellespont. This was sufficient cause for alarm.

It was in the year 340 that Philip sent a fleet into the Hellespont and began to besiege Perinthus. Philip's plans were no longer a secret. Conflict between Macedonia and Persia were now inevitable. The Athenians sent an embassy to Ochus for help against Philip which Ochus refused, for he was not well disposed toward the

¹ *Arr.* ii. 14.

Athenians. But when Philip continued his siege of Perinthus, Ochus ordered the coast satraps to help Perinthus with all their power. Through the help of Athens and Persia Perinthus was saved from the power of Philip.¹ Thereupon Ochus sent troops to invade Thrace in order to weaken Philip in his own country, but with little effect. The help that Persia gave Perinthus was to the Macedonians equivalent to a declaration of war. The Persians did not see as we now do from the result, that it was necessary for them to prevent the subjugation of Greece to insure their own safety. Or if they saw it they lacked energy to act.² The reasons for their failure to help Athens and Greece are not evident. After the battle of Chaeronea, 338, Philip was master of Greece. Just at this time Ochus died and was succeeded by his son Arsēs. Upon this Philip openly sought to unite the Greeks against the Persians. In the spring of 336 he sent troops to Asia Minor to free the Greek cities. But Persia was not to suffer much at his hands, for in the summer of the same year Philip was assassinated. Persia was granted a breathing-spell but only for a brief while. The work which Philip had begun was carried to its completion by his son and successor on the throne, Alexander the Great.³

The reliable sources outside of the Old Testament for the history of Judea, during the reign of Ochus, are scanty. Only fragmentary evidence is at hand, yet of sufficient reliability to enable us to form a reasonably definite conception of the conditions and events during that time. Judea always held a middle geographical position between larger and contending countries. At first it was Assyria and after that Babylonia on the one side, and Egypt on the other. Now it was Persia and Egypt in their long-continued struggles with each other. So closely was Judea connected with Phœnicia and Syria that it was always affected by their successes or reverses, so that Judea's fate can be inferred partly from that of its close-linked neighbors. That violent disturbances occurred among the Jews during the reign of Ochus is generally recognized among historians. Just what these disturbances were, and through what agencies they

¹ Diod. xv. 75; Arr. ii. 14.

² Nöldeke *op. cit.* 80.

³ Diod. xvi. 91; Just. ix. 5, 6; Arr. ii. 14.

were brought about, and at what definite time, are matters of less certainty and of differences of opinion.

There appear to have been two uprisings in Judea during the reign of Ochus. This was established already by Gutschmied.¹ The first of these came in close connection with the second campaign of Ochus against Egypt, 353-52.² It is more than likely that the Jews revolted against the Persians who, on their way to Egypt, passed in front of their homes. Why should they be led away into captivity to Hyrcania (*vide infra*) except for revolting against the Persians and for refusing to yield to all their wishes and encroachments?³ Since the days of Jeremiah Egypt had been more or less of an asylum for many Jews. In this way there may have grown up something of a kindred feeling between Jews and Egyptians.⁴ This fact may also have added to the Jewish hatred of the Persians now advancing against Egypt under the command of the satraps of Asia Minor. Both Diodorus and Plutarch speak of the cruelty of Ochus in his court and in his rule over the empire (*vide infra*). From such a ruler we would then expect just such treatment of the Jews who showed no inclination to be obedient subjects to a nation whose religion was so different from their own.

Actual traces of just what we would otherwise expect are found in our historic sources. The first of these to notice is a quotation from Solinus 35.4: "Judæae caput fuit Hierusolyma, sed excisa est. Successit Hierichus: et haec desivit, Artaxerxis bello subacta." Dodwell⁵ and more recently Th. Reinach⁶ advanced the supposition that the Artaxerxes mentioned is Ardashir I, the founder of the Sassanid kingdom, 224-242 A. D., who threatened Syria under Alexander Severus in 233 A. D. Reinach thinks that Solinus mis-

¹ *Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie*, 1863, 714; so Ewald *Gesch.*; and Judeich. *op. cit.* 170, 171.

² Hieronymus, 359-58, but in the seventh year of Ochus. Armenian Transl. 354.

³ Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden II.* 2. 110, thinks if the captivity can be accepted as history, then it is due to their adherence to their doctrines and convictions.

⁴ Cf. The Assuan Papiri.

⁵ In Hudson *Geograph. Graec.* II. 71.

⁶ "La deuxième ruine de Jéricho" in *Sem. Studies in Memory of Alex. Kohut*, 457-462.

interpreted his source, Plinius, and wrote Jericho for Machaerus. "Solin aurait mal interprété le texte de Pline, changé par inadvertance Machaerus en Hiericus."¹ How could Solinus, a writer of mediocrity, get a hold of such an isolated fact? The destruction of Jerusalem was that of the year 70 A. D. through Titus, after which Jericho also was destroyed. "Hierichus successit" must be interpreted *cum grano salis*, not that Jericho became the capital of Judea, but that it was the second city in rank. And this it was no more in the fourth century, hence it experienced a disaster after Titus and before Solinus. Within this time there was an Artaxerxes, namely Ardashir I. He and not Ochus is meant in the quotation of Solinus. Jericho was destroyed not by the Persians but by the Romans for siding with the Persians. For how could the Persians invade Jericho with its strong fortifications? Moreover, why should they? What occasion was there for it? There was no cause for the Jews to be provoked at the Persians, but every reason for them to hate the Romans who imposed taxes upon them and restricted their efforts in making proselytes. Finally the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus could easily have been mistaken for that of Alexander Severus by Solinus following Jerome and Eusebius. Reinach concludes by admitting that this is only a conjecture, but thinks that it has the advantage of not doing violence to the text and that it affords a more reasonable view of the history. Schürer² inclines to accept this and calls the quotation a confused remark usually applied to the campaign of Ochus against the Jews. He is followed by E. Meyer³ who thinks it better to apply the passage to the reign of Ardashir I. Cheyne also accepts the conclusion of Reinach.

On the other hand, is it not just as easy to assume that Solinus had a source unknown to us otherwise, from which he learned the fact stated, as to think that he confused names and dates of events? Why should the Romans destroy Jericho when the enemy with whom the Jews are supposed to have sympathized never crossed the Euphrates at this time? It is just as easy, and this may be the correct interpretation, to take "excisa est" *cum grano salis* as "Hierichus successit," and say that the disaster that befell Jerusalem was not a destruction like that through Nebuchadrezzar, or later through

¹ P. 457.² *Op. cit.* III. 6. n.³ *Gesch. des Alt.* III. 212.

Antiochus Epiphanes, or through Antiochus Sidetes, nor yet like that of Titus, but some lesser disaster that made less impression upon the world outside and yet temporarily at least made Jerusalem unfit or undesirable for a capital.

Mommsen¹ has rightly taken the opposite view and has conclusively shown the impossibility of Reinach's conclusion since there is no evidence that Ardashir I ever came near Palestine.² Twice he made an attempt to advance westward, but was unable to cross the Mesopotamian desert. In 233 he met with some success in the Roman Asiatic possessions, but was defeated by Alexander Severus in a great battle.³ Under the Roman Maximus, 235-238, Mesopotamia came into the power of Ardashir and the Persians again threatened to cross the Euphrates. In 242 the Romans once more declared war against the Persians and defeated them completely. Ardashir had demanded from Rome all the provinces formerly in the empire of Darius but never obtained them. There was a long and bitter conflict between the Romans and the Sassanids, but no evidence can be adduced that Ardashir ever crossed the Euphrates.⁴ Nothing is mentioned of a destruction of Jericho. Mommsen says:⁵ "Hoc scio neque a Solino usquam talia citari ipsius aetate gesta neque Artaxerxen illum attigisse Palaestinam." The citation from Dio Cassius⁶ does not prove in any way that Ardashir advanced farther than the Euphrates. Hölscher⁷ therefore rightly concludes that the quotation from Solinus points to Artaxerxes II and that since there is nothing against its credibility there remains nothing but to accept it as fact.

Another reference is found in Eusebius:⁸ Ὀχος Ἀρταξέρξου παῖς εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατεύων μερικὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν εἶλεν Ἰουδαίων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ κατόκισε πρὸς τῇ κασκία θαλάσσῃ, τοὺς δ' ἐν βαβυλῶνι. οἱ καὶ μέχρι νῦν εἰσιν αὐτόθι, ὥς πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱστοροῦσιν. In the translation of Hieronymus⁹ we read: "Ochus

¹ *Solinus* Introd. vii; cf. *Römische Gesch.*, 1886³ V. 419-21.

² Nöldeke *op. cit.* 86-92; Justi *op. cit.* 177-82.

³ Lampridius *Al. Sevrens* 56.

⁴ Euseb. = *Sync.* 674 and 683.

⁵ *Solinus* Introd. vii.

⁶ lxxx. 3.

⁷ *Palästina in der Pers. u. Hel. Zeit* 47, 48.

⁸ *Chron.* ed. Schöne II. 112 = *Sync.* 486. 10.

⁹ *Ibid.* 113.

Apodasmo Judaïorum capta in Hyrcaniam accolas translatos juxta mare Caspium conlocavit." In the Armenian translation¹ this reads: "Ochuspartem aliquam de Romanis Judæisque cepit et habitare fecit in Hyrcania juxta mare Cazbium." There is some doubt as to the sources from which Eusebius drew his information (*vide supra* p. 24,) but scarcely any as to the credibility of the facts mentioned. Wellhausen² calls it "eine schwache Kunde" and Stade³ considers the quotation "sehr dunkel." Others accept it as reliable, and rightly so. Schürer⁴ is no doubt correct in saying that τοὺς δ' ἐν βαβυλῶνι was added by Syncellus "out of his own wisdom," and that the Armenian translation added "de Romanis."

A reference undoubtedly based on Eusebius is found in Orosius iii. 7: "Tunc etiam Ochus, qui et Artaxerxes,⁵ post transactum in Aegypto maximum diuturnumque bellum, plurimos Judaïorum in transmigratinem egit, atque in Hyrcania ad Caspium mare habitare praecepit: quos ibi usque in hodie diem amplissimis generis sui incrementis consistere, atque exinde quandoque erupturos opinio est."

Confirming evidence is also found in the condition of the Jericho valley at this time, as Hölscher⁶ has shown from Diodorus⁷ who had for his source in this case Hieronymus of Kardia, who wrote in the days of Antigonus, 323-301, a successor of Alexander the Great. No more reliable source could be asked for. According to this source the whole Jericho valley in the last decade of the fourth century was no longer Jewish but Arabian, whom Hieronymus calls Nabataeans. Hölscher⁸ has pointed out that their territory included Idumaea, which extended from Engedi northward. These Idumaeans then pressed into the Jericho valley after its desolation. As in earlier deportations, so now not all Jews were removed, but enough so that the general character of the land became Arabian.

A final and less certain reference is found in Justinus xxxvi. 3: "Primum Xerxes rex Persarum Judaïos domuit; postea cum ipsis Persis in dicionem Alexandri Magni venere, diuque in potestate

¹ *Ibid.* 112.

² *Op. cit.* 192.

³ *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* II. 194.

⁴ *Op. cit.* III. 6, n.

⁵ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ ἀκολουθεῖς Ὁχος.

⁶ *Op. cit.* 48-50.

⁷ xix. 98=ii. 48.

⁸ *Op. cit.* 23-25.

Macedonici imperii subjecti Syriae regno fuere. A Demetrio cum descivissent, amicitia Romanorum petita, primi omnium ex orientalibus libertatem receperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus." There is no other evidence that Xerxes ever forced the Jews into subjection. It is very probable that we are to understand with Hölscher¹ that the original reading was Artaxerxes (III) instead of Xerxes. He thinks that the information is based on Timagenes who wrote during the latter half of the first century B. C.

Taking all these evidences together we have the strong probability if not the absolute certainty that Jericho was devastated and that the Jews were deported to Hyrcania during the reign of Ochus, and, as shown before, within the year 353-352, as a punishment for their rebellion or at least for their refusal to submit to the Persian rule. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that there was a large colony of Jews in Hyrcania numbering in the Roman time not only thousands but millions.² Granted that many of these went there of their own choice and that many more were born there, the acceptance of these historic references explains the beginning of the colony, which is otherwise not explained in history. Finally, also, the frequent occurrence of the name Hyrcanus among the Jews³ points in the same direction, and to the time of Ochus rather than to a later period,⁴ since in the later period the name is already in common use.

The second revolt of the Jews during the reign of Ochus, as Judeich,⁵ followed by Guthe,⁶ has clearly shown, came in connection with the third campaign against Egypt shortly after the destruction of Sidon, 348, and before the final reconquest of Egypt, 343. Nöldeke⁷ incorrectly connects this with the first revolt, and Stade⁸ places it still earlier, namely in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, while Schürer⁹ is uncertain as to the date. Willrich¹⁰ supposes the Josephus section to refer to an event of the Maccabean period. Bagoses is

¹ *Op. cit.* 46, n.

² Schürer *op. cit.* III. 6, 7, based on Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5. 2.

³ Jos. *Ant.* xxii. 4. 6-11; *Vita* 1; II Mak. 3:11; often in *Mishna*.

⁴ As Winckler and Willrich, by their system of change of names, claim.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 171, n.

⁶ *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* 292.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 77-78.

⁸ *Op. cit.* 194.

⁹ *Op. cit.* III. 6, n.

¹⁰ *Juden u. Griechen vor der Mak. Erhebung* 88-89.

not the Persian Bagoas but Antiochus Epiphanes. Josephus did not make Ochus a persecutor of the Jews. In fact Ochus was not an enemy of the Jews. All the references originated from the Josephus passage and that does not refer to Ochus but to Antiochus Epiphanes.¹ That this conclusion does not stand appears already from a historic examination of the sources. Such confusing or changing of names is not in harmony with the historic method of Josephus. Already Ewald² considered it likely that the Jews rebelled with their near neighbors, the Phoenicians, against the Persians. This is indeed more than probable. Otherwise it is difficult to see why their temple should be polluted and additional burdens be laid upon them. It was the common practice of the Persians to inflict such visitations upon revolting colonists.

In the section of Josephus³ we read that after the death of the high priest Eliashib, his son Judas succeeded him in that office, and he in turn was followed by Johanan. He gave Bagoses⁴ (=Bagoas) occasion to desecrate the temple and to burden the Jews with a compulsory tax of fifty drachmas from the common income for every lamb before the sacrifice. This came about as follows: Johanan had a brother, Jesus, to whom Bagoses, as to a good friend, had promised the office of high priest. This led to a quarrel between the two brothers in which Johanan slew Jesus. This was an outrageous act on the part of the high priest, so much more horrible since such an ungodly act was unheard of either among the Greeks or the barbarians. Consequently, as a result for this act, God allowed the people to be reduced to servitude and their temple to be polluted by the Persians. For as soon as Bagoses learned that Johanan slew his brother in the temple he censured the Jews with the reproach: "And so you dared to commit a murder in your temple?" And when they refused him entrance into their temple he said to them: "Am I not purer than the man who committed murder in the temple?" And with these words he entered the temple. The death of Jesus gave Bagoses a desired occasion to oppress the Jews seven years.⁵

¹ *Judaica* § 39 and § 103.

² *Gesch.* II. 2. 210.

³ *Ant.* xi. 7. 1, ed. Niese, 1892; with Josephus agree Diod. xvii. 5.3 and Strabo.

⁴ Grk. βαγώσης ed. Niese.

⁵ Cf. Sachau *Drei aram. Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine*, 1906².

Contrary to Stade¹ who says: "Über die Schicksale der jüdischen Gemeinde in dem Jahrhundert, welches zwischen Nehemias Statthalterschaft und dem Einbruch Alexanders in das persische Reich verfloßen ist, durch ganz Vorderasien in eine neue Entwicklung hingerissen wurde, erfahren wir aus dem Alten Testamente direct gar nichts. Und auch die Geschichtliche Überlieferung anderer Völker lässt uns für diesen Zeitraum in der Geschichte der Gemeinde völlig im Stiche;" and contrary to Wellhausen² who says of the second half of the Persian period: "Über die äussere Geschichte dieser Zeit erfahren wir beinahe nichts," we have found historic traces which bear upon the period and throw rays of light upon it that enable us to understand to some extent the conditions of the Jewish community in the days of Ochus.

It remains yet, after a look at what Ochus did for his own and succeeding ages and what sort of a man he was, to examine the Biblical records to find what light they will throw upon the period under consideration.

E. THE WORK AND CHARACTER OF OCHUS

Ochus at last fell a prey to the treachery of his most trusted general Bagoas shortly after the battle of Chaeronea, 338. Bagoas, fearing a change in the favor of the king, and in order to avenge the death of the Egyptian Apis through Ochus, caused the king to drink poison and placed Arsēs,³ the youngest son of Ochus, on the throne. All his other sons he killed. When Arsēs would not let Bagoas rule, he too, together with all his children, was slain, and a friend of the eunuch, Codomannus, a son of Arsanes, and a great-grandson of Darius II, was placed upon the throne. He in turn caused Bagoas to drink the poison which Bagoas had prepared for him, because he would not yield to the wishes of the eunuch. The same year that Codomannus ascended the throne, 336, Philip II was assassinated and followed by his son Alexander. With the death of Ochus and the accession of Alexander the death-knell of the Persian empire was sounded. It required only a little more time for the inevitable to take place.

¹ *Op. cit.* 194.

² *Op. cit.* 192.

³ Diod. xvii. 5; Plut. *Alex.*

Ochus was the first Persian ruler since Darius I who had in person energetically conducted a great expedition and restored the empire to its former greatness. It was a great pity that he died just at this critical moment,¹ for far more than in the days of Darius I did the empire center in the personality of the king. The last years of his reign show a prompt management and a powerful rule. He was shrewd enough to place the right men in whom he could have confidence into the most important offices, a management which was not always found in oriental courts.² Plutarch said of Ochus that he excelled all his predecessors in cruelty and in blood-thirstiness.³ Ὀχλος ὁμότητι καὶ μαιφονίᾳ πάντας ὑπερθαλόμενος. Grote⁴ calls him "a sanguinary tyrant who shed by wholesale the blood of his family and courtiers." He was energetic and determined, but treacherous and cruel, an oriental despot of an extreme type. His cruelty shows itself alike in his court before and after his accession, and in his rule over the empire in Sidon and in Egypt. No means were too low for him just so they would accomplish his ends. Cheyne⁵ mentions "the insane cruelties of that degenerate king, Ochus." And Nöldeke⁶ says "he was, it appears, one of those great despots who can raise up again for a time a decayed oriental empire, who shed blood without scruple and are not nice in the choice of means, but who in the actual position of affairs do usually contribute to the welfare of the state as a whole."

¹ Nöldeke *op. cit.* 80.

² Justi *op. cit.* 139.

³ *Artax.* 30.

⁴ *Op. cit.* xii, chap. xcii.

⁵ *E. B.* III. 2, 207.

⁶ *Op. cit.* 75.

CHAPTER III

AN EXAMINATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT SOURCES POSSIBLY DATING FROM THE REIGN OF OCHUS OR REFLECTING LIGHT THEREON

After gathering together the historical data bearing on the period under consideration from sources and authorities outside the Old Testament, both in a general and also in a more particular way, it remains for us to search the sacred records to see what additional and confirming information they will yield for this period. It is evident that we have it to do not with traditional views but with a scientific treatment of the records. Much has been said and written on this subject during the last decade or two. And since there is an element of uncertainty about the history of the period, there is a great diversity of opinions among scholars concerning the Old Testament sources finding a historical explanation in this period. There are passages also which fit well here and equally so into one or another earlier or later period. So, for instance, there is a similarity between the conditions in Palestine during the Assyrian and the late Persian time, and again between this time and that under Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, or of John Hyrcanus. There is no direct reference in the Old Testament to Ochus or his reign by name, so that it becomes a matter of interpretation through a comparison of the thought contents of these sources with what is known of the external history of the period.

A. THE SOURCES

Since the historical method of study found its way into the circles of Old Testament students, the true meaning and message of the Old Testament is sought in its historic background. Every passage is studied with this thought in mind. Consequently the correct place in history is sought for every part of the Old Testament. The following passages have at some time or other been thought by scholars to belong in this period wholly or in part:

I. Passages from Isaiah: (1) 23: 1-14; (2) 19: 1-15; (3) 14: 28-32; (4) chaps. 24-27; (5) 32: 9-14; (6) 33: 1-24; (7) chaps. 56-66.

II. Psalms 44, 74, 79, and 83. Also 89, 94, 132.

III. Passages from the Minor Prophets: (1) Joel, chap. 3 [4]; (2) Obadiah, vss. 1-15; (3) Habakkuk 1:2-2:4, in part; (4) Zechariah, chap. 14.

IV. Parts of Job.

V. The Apocryphal Books: (1) Judith; (2) Tobit.

Some of these have been shown by later scholarship to belong into other periods, so that they can be passed over with a brief notice. Some are generally accepted as coming from this time. Others are still the subject of discussion. Still others are of such a nature that their date can probably never be determined. The present purpose is to examine anew each section and group together the arguments for and against accepting them for the period under consideration.

B. THE LITERATURE

W. R. Smith, Article "Book of Psalms" in *E. Br.*⁹ XX, 1875. *Ibid.* *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 1892², 207, 208, 437-40. Fr. Baethgen *Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt*, Handkommentar zum A. T., 1892. Julius Ley *Historische Erklärung des zweiten Jesaja c. 40-66*, 1893. W. H. Kusters *Het Herstel van Israel in het Perzische Tijdvak*, 1894, Ger. Transl., 1895, 64-73. G. Wildeboer *De Letterkunde des Ouden Verbonds naar de Tijdsorde van haar Ontstaan*, 1893, 1903², Ger. Transl., 1895. T. K. Cheyne *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 1895. K. Budde, Review of Cheyne's Introduction in *Th. L. Z.*, 1896, 286, 287. W. H. Kusters "Deutero- en Trito-Jesaja" in *Th. Tijdschr.*, 1896, 577-623. S. R. Driver *Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.*, 1891, 1897⁶. H. Gressmann *Ueber die in Jesaja c. 56-66 vorausgesetzten Verhältnisse*, 1898. J. Skinner, "Isaiah" in *Camb. Bib.*, 1, 898. T. K. Cheyne *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 1898, 158-72. E. Littmann *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Trito-Jesaja*, 1899. B. Duhm *Die Psalmen erklärt*, K. H. C. A. T., 1899. K. Marti *Das Buch Jesaja*, K. H. C. A. T., 1900. B. Duhm *Das Buch Jesaja übersetzt und erklärt*, H. K. A. T., 1892, 1901². T. K. Cheyne, "The Book of Isaiah," in *E. B.* II, 1901. W. R. Smith and T. K. Cheyne, Article "Psalms" in *E. B.* III, 1902, §§18, 23, 28. W. Nowack *Die Kleinen Propheten übersetzt und erklärt*, H. K. A. T., 1897, 1903³. K. Marti

Das Dodekapheton, in K. H. C. A. T., 1904. C. von Orelli *Der Prophet Jesaja ausgelegt*, 1887, 1904³. C. H. Cornill *Einführung in die Bücher des A. T.*, 1891, 1905⁵. G. Hölscher *Palästina in der Persischen und Hellenistischen Zeit*, 1903, 46-50. H. Guthe, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1904, 289-301. E. Schürer *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 1902³. R. Kittel, Article "Psalmen" in *Realenc. für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 1905. Bd. 16.

C. EXAMINATION OF THE SOURCES

I. *Passages from Isaiah*—(1) Isa. 23:1-14 [15-18]. מִשְׁאֵה צִיד *The Oracle concerning Sidon*, one of the ten oracles forming the framework of Isa., chaps. 13-27. That vss. 15-18, the promised restoration of Tyre, do not form a part of the original section but are a later addition, was pointed out already by Ewald, who is followed by most later writers. These verses stand in strong contrast with vss. 1-14. They are not like vss. 1-14, poetry, but prose with a quotation from a song in vs. 16. Language, imagery, and subject matter are different in the two parts. Ewald and Cheyne place the added verses in the beginning of the Persian period.¹ Duhm² places them after the fall of Tyre under Alexander the Great in 332, and Marti³ in the second century by a writer who recognized in vss. 1-14 the fulfilment of a prophecy concerning the fall of Tyre in 332, and who saw the rise of Tyre under the Seleucides. The promise of a restoration of Tyre, after seventy years, is modeled after Jer. 25:9-11, and 29:10, meaning after a change of dynasty as in case of the Pharaoh of Joseph, Ex. 1:8. Tyre was really forgotten by reason of the prosperity of Carthage and the rise of its rival, Alexandria. Not till the time of the Seleucides did it rise again, yet long before the seventy years after the conquests.⁴ Further evidence of the rise of Tyre is also found in Zech. 9:3, "And Tyre did build herself a stronghold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets."

The date of vss. 1-14 has long perplexed the critics. It is evident that the text has suffered corruption in order to adapt the poem

¹ So also Eichhorn, Vatke, König.

² *Das Buch Jes. übersetzt u. erklärt*, ad. loc.

³ *Das Buch Jesaja*, ad. loc.

⁴ Cf. Schürer *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes* II. 74.

to another than its original purpose. The acceptance of the text as it is, צֵיִר *Tyre*, and כְּשָׁדִים *Chaldaeans*, in vss. 1 and 12, led W. R. Smith¹ to consider the passage as a prophecy of Isaiah against *Tyre* shortly before Sennacherib's invasion in 701, pointing to the punishment recently inflicted upon Chaldaea by the Assyrians in 710-709 or in 701. But even by accepting vs. 13 as it stands, this is hardly possible, for it describes a severer disaster than that which befell Babylon through Assyria at that time. And, besides, Tyre is not mentioned in the inscriptions among the cities besieged by Sennacherib. On the other hand, vs. 13, because of its meaninglessness, is rejected by Cheyne² from belonging to the original poem. Duhm and Marti consider the larger portion of it as a gloss and emend the remainder.

The introduction of כְּשָׁדִים was thought to be too abrupt. Ewald proposed to change it to כְּנַעֲנִים *Canaanites*. His conjecture was adopted by Schrader,³ Cheyne, Orelli, Delitzsch, and viewed favorably by Dillman and Driver.⁴ Cheyne afterward reverted to כְּשָׁדִים on Assyriological grounds. If the emendation would stand, then the verse would refer simply to the threatening fate of Phoenicia, and the whole section could be considered as an Isaianic prophecy and could plausibly be assigned to the period of the five-year siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser IV between 727 and 723 related by Josephus.⁵ But the text is as difficult with כְּנַעֲנִים as with כְּשָׁדִים. What could be the significance of הִנֵּה *behold*? Certainly the devastation of Canaan was nothing new. Ewald also noticed the absence of the loftiness, the splendor, and the brevity of Isaiah, and consequently assigned the verses to a younger disciple of Isaiah. Others refer all of chap. 23 to the age if not to the authorship of Jeremiah.⁶ Stade⁷ places the entire chapter in the age of Alexander the Great.

E. Meyer, followed by Duhm and Marti, changes כְּשָׁדִים of vs. 13 to כְּתִיִּים *Cyprians*, and refers to vs. 12 for the reason. The

¹ *The Prophets of Israel* 333.

² *Introd. to the Bk. of Isa.* 141.

³ *K. A. T.*² 409 f.

⁴ *Introd. to the Literature of the O. T.*⁶ 219.

⁵ *Ant.* ix. 14.2.; so Ewald, Schrader, Kuenen, Dillman, Orelli, Cheyne, Driver.

⁶ Hitzig, Bleek.

⁷ *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* II. 208.

emendation is not an easy one but probably correct. With a slight change the verse then reads: *יֵן אֶרֶץ כְּתִים הַשְׁמִיר שָׁמָּה לְמַפְלָה* *Behold the land of the Kittim he has laid waste, to a heap of ruins he made it* (Marti). The rest of the verse is a gloss (*vide supra*). One more emendation, first proposed by Duhm and adopted by Marti and Cornill, and it seems to me we have the original meaning of the passage. This is *צִדֹן* (צִידֹן) *Sidon* in vss. 1 and 8. This is an easy emendation and is altogether probable since in vss. 2, 4, 12 Sidon is certainly meant. This gives unity and meaning to the section, finding its full explanation in the historic situation of the destruction of Sidon by Ochus in 348, into which history it fits perfectly (*vide supra*). Then we have not a prophecy but an elegy composed upon the destruction of Sidon. It is easy to see how a later writer, the one who added vss. 15-18, would adapt the elegy to a prophecy against Tyre. He also changed *צִדֹן* to *צֵר* in vss. 1 and 8, and so made out of the elegy upon Sidon a *מִשָּׁא צֵר* *burden of Tyre*. Vs. 5 is a prosaic gloss whose contents has no connection with the poem.¹ That Tyre was not meant originally is clear from the fact that it was thrice besieged, five years under Shalmaneser-Sargon, again under Asarhaddon-Assur-banipal, and thirteen years by Nebuchadrezzar, but not conquered till under Alexander in 332. On the other hand we know that Sidon was the first city of Phoenicia in the Persian period.² At no time during the life of Isaiah was it destroyed.³ The translation of *צֵר* as "Phoenicia" is rendered impossible by vs. 12.⁴ Likewise the view of Cheyne, Guthe, and Kittel, that the elegy dates from Isaiah as a prophecy against Tyre, worked over by a later hand, must be abandoned. The passage is not a prophecy and its diction and ideas are too foreign to those of Isaiah (Duhm). Cheyne⁵ points out Isaianic ideas and phraseology and then adds what seem to him non-Isaianic features, which, however, seem to predominate. The passage may be accepted without hesitancy as an elegy upon the destruction of Sidon (Marti) in 348, and may confidently be received as a reliable source for the reign of Ochus.

¹ Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

² Herodotus vii. 98; viii. 67.

³ Cf. Pietschmann *Gesch. der Phoenizier* 302-6; Meyer *Gesch. des Altertums* I. 595.

⁴ Guthe in *Kautzsch Bibel*.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 142.

(2) Isa. 19:1-15 [16-25]. מִשְׁאָה מִצֵּרִים *The Oracle concerning Egypt*, another of the ten oracles of Isa., chaps. 13-27. As in chap. 23, so we have here an original section, vss. 1-15, and a later addition, vss. 16-25. Tradition indeed accepted the entire chapter as Isaianic. Scholars long accepted this view and sought to find a place in history for the chapter. Ewald¹ accepted the chapter as Isaianic but noticed difficulties in the differences. He described it as Isaiah's last and noblest "testament to posterity," probably because of the grand catholicity of the picture with which the chapter closes, namely that both Assyria, the life-long oppressor of Judah, and Egypt should turn to Jahwe and be on an equality with Israel in the kingdom of God. Ewald thinks the chapter consistent with the period after 701, after Egypt was defeated by Sennacherib.² Driver considers it a plausible conjecture to place it in connection with the defeat of Egypt by Sargon at Raphia in 720.³

That vss. 16-25 do not form a part of the original section, vss. 1-15, was shown already by Hitzig, who thought them to come from the hand of Onias in his own interest, at the time of the founding of the Onias temple in Leontopolis, *ca.* 160 B. C., according to Josephus.⁴ The alliance of Syria, Israel, and Egypt the writer hoped to be realized through the successes of Judas Maccabaeus. Hitzig later considered vss. 21-25 as purely imaginative. His earlier view was adopted by Duhm. The section cannot be Isaianic, for vs. 16 would be a direct denial of his predictions, and at the time these verses were written Judah must have had reason for hoping to become a menace to Egypt and to stand alongside with it and Syria. The five cities speaking the language of Canaan, among them Leontopolis, the altar and the pillar, the hope that Egypt will turn to Jahwe, all indicate that this prophecy dates from the middle of the second century. Duhm sees in the friendship which shall arise between Egypt and Syria, and which shall include Judah, the marriage of Alexander Balas with the daughter of Ptolemy Philometer at which Jonathan clothed in purple was present (I Mac. 10: 51-56). The glorification of the temple of Leontopolis and of the Jewish generals indicates

¹ *Hist. of Isr.* II. 267 f.

² So also Stade, Dillman, Kuenen.

³ Guthe in *Kautzsch Bibel* places it at 715.

⁴ *Ant.* xiii. 3. 1.

that the author was an Egyptian Jew. Hence it is that there is no reference to the return of the Diaspora and to the hostility toward the gentiles. That the history of the time is put into the form of prediction is in harmony with the literary style of the time. Marti agrees with Duhm that the time of the founding of the Onias temple, 160 B. C., affords the best historic explanation of these verses. He regards vss. 16-25 as a unity, intended to limit or to cancel the impression of vss. 1-15 for Egyptian readers, and at the same time as a message from the Egyptian Jews to the Egyptians to turn to Jahwe and to rejoice over the blessings of the Jewish religion in the triple alliance with Judah and Syria.

Cheyne is certain that vss. 16-25 are not Isaianic, for (a) the prophecy, vss. 1-15, is from a literary point of view complete without an appendix. (b) The tone of these verses is entirely different from the first part. There is a strong contrast between the two parts. The first is the sternest threatening, the second has a more sympathetic tone toward Egypt than is found in any other part of the Old Testament, even a conversion of Egypt to the true God. (c) To a Jew of Isaiah's time the conversion of Assyria, not of Egypt, was of primary interest. The conversion of the less dangerous neighbor is not a conceivable idea of Isaiah. (d) The circumstantial description in vss. 18-25 (vss. 16 and 17 link the original prophecy with the addition) is contrary to the prophetic genius of Isaiah. (e) There are no stylistic indications of Isaiah. The style is prosaic. The Isaianic expressions only indicate that the writer was acquainted with Isaiah.¹ But Cheyne, and with him Cornill, thinks it impossible that vss. 16-25 can come from so late a date as 160, since such an addition could not have been accepted into the text of the Palestinian synagogue so late. This objection is, however, not insurmountable since the canon was not closed till after that time. While the prophetic collection already existed pretty much in its present form about 200 B. C., still the possibility of much later additions is not ruled out.² The group of prophecies, Isa., chaps. 13-27, can hardly have been collected before the close of the second century B. C.³

¹ *Op. cit.* 99-101.

² K. Budde Art. "Canon" in *E. B. I.* §39 and n. 1.

³ Marti *op. cit.* p. xvi.

Cheyne thinks the author considered *אֱלֹהִים קָשֶׁה* *the cruel lord*, as Ochus, or with LXX *κυρίων σκληρῶν* *hard lords*, as Ochus and the other Persian kings who conquered Egypt, namely Cambyses and Xerxes. The passage can be explained only by the history of the Greek period under the first four Ptolemies. When the empire of Alexander was divided, Egypt fell to Ptolemy Lagi who in 320 added to it Phoenicia and Coelo-Syria with the territory of Judah. Antigonus received Syria and Asia Minor. Southern Syria remained disputed ground. The people of Judah suffered harsh treatment from Ptolemy. Many captives from Judah and Samaria were carried away to Egypt.¹ Many Jews also went of their own accord, invited by the goodly country and the liberality of Ptolemy toward them in Alexandria. So far the verses contain recent history. Now follows a look into the future. Egypt shall turn to Jahwe. A highway from Egypt to Syria shall be opened. Israel shall be the link between the Seleucides and the Ptolemies. All shall serve Jahwe and from the three allied peoples spiritual light will radiate. Hence he concludes that the addition is the work of an Egyptian Jew *ca.* 275. Cornill² considers it inconceivable that the verses could date from an earlier time than the settling of Jews in Egypt by Ptolemy Lagi, 323-285.

From the examination of vss. 16-25 we may confidently affirm that they are not Isaianic and that they are from a later writer than vss. 1-15. It remains yet to examine vss. 1-15 to find as nearly as possible their origin and date. While Hitzig dated vss. 16-25 at 160 he held firmly to the Isaianic authorship of vss. 1-15. Eichhorn first denied the authorship of Isaiah. The non-Isaianic authorship is now held by Duhm, Smend, Kittel, Cornill, and Marti. But for what reason? First let us ascertain whether vss. 1-15 are a unity. As in chapter 23 so we have here three strophes, vss. 1-4, 5-10, and 11-15, and not of regular formation. Neither is each strophe a unit idea. The first is a unity: Jahwe stirs up civil war in Egypt, robs the Egyptians of all reason and delivers them into the power of a severe and cruel foreigner. The next two strophes, on the other hand, form a unit idea together: vss. 5-10, the drying up of the Nile and the woe of fishermen and weavers, and vss. 11-15, the insufficiency

¹ Jos. *Ant.* xii. 1.

² *Einl. in das A. T.* 171.

and helplessness of the Egyptian wisdom. Cheyne therefore separates vss. 5-10 as obstructing the connection, and considers them from a later hand.¹ The evidence, however, is not convincing since the connection between the first and third strophe is scarcely any closer.² We may therefore accept the entire section as a unit.

That the section cannot come from Isaiah is evident (a) from a lack of any historic connection with Judah, any political motive for the threats uttered, for the older prophets always connected their messages with some contemporary event in history. (b) Many ideas are not Isaianic: The ride of Jahwe on a swift cloud to Egypt, vs. 1, is almost unique in prophecy. The theoretically established monotheism and the comparison of the Jewish religious teaching with the Egyptian wisdom, vss. 3 and 12, is unlike Isaiah. The plan of Jahwe is already a subject of learned wisdom, vs. 12 (Marti). Would Isaiah have spoken of *רוּחַ מִצְרַיִם* the *spirit of Egypt*, vs. 3, and have shown the anxiety for the fishermen and weavers of Egypt, vss. 5-10, a calamity in no way political (Duhm)? (c) The arrangement and style is not Isaianic. Would Isaiah have used *מִצְרַיִם* six times in the first five lines? Cheyne³ at first pronounced the section the work of a disciple of Isaiah on the basis of Isaiah's notes. Then he concluded that the whole section is later than Isaiah but still held to the Isaianic basis, and thought the *אֲדֹנִים קָשָׁה* none other than Sargon who defeated the Egyptians at Raphia in 720. Later he asserts "I can now find no sure traces of an Isaianic substratum."

That Isaiah cannot have been the author of vss. 1-15 is certainly evident. Into what other period then does the section belong? Cheyne⁴ thinks of Cambyzes who conquered Psammetich III in 525, and of Xerxes who reconquered Egypt. Either one can rightly be called *אֲדֹנִים קָשָׁה*. The section belongs in "the long Persian period, but nothing compels us to descend as far as Artaxerxes Ochus." Vss. 5-10 are not later than 485. Judging from the cruelty of Ochus in Phoenicia and Judea, he thinks it difficult to see how a Jew could have written so coldly and so indifferently of the final campaign against Egypt. Duhm, on the other hand, and with him Marti and Cornill, rightly think of Artaxerxes III, Ochus,

¹ *Op. cit.* 110, 111.

³ *Op. cit.* 113, 114.

² Marti *op. cit.* 155.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 118, 119.

who conquered Nectanebus II in 343 (*vide supra*). Into this period the separate allusions fit correctly. Civil strife and sudden change of dynasties, vs. 2, discord in military operations, revolts and confusion, all were common in those days. The epithet אֱלֹהִים קָשָׁה fits Ochus better than anyone else in the history of Persia (*vide supra*, pp. 44, 45). The section was probably written in Egypt sometime between the destruction of Sidon in 348 and the reconquest of Egypt, 343, as "an elegy upon the punishment of Egypt through Ochus" (Marti), and may be accepted as another reliable source for the history of the reign of Ochus.

(3) Isa. 14:28-32, מִשְׁנֵא פִלְשְׁתִּים *The Oracle concerning Philistia*. This prophecy of four strophes of four lines each bears the heading, "In the year of the death of king Ahaz¹ was this Oracle." Were this reliable, then both authorship and date would be fixed, namely that we have a prophecy from Isaiah in the year 721. But the late הַמִּשְׁנֵא points to the redactor of Isa., chaps. 13-27, which contains the ten oracles concerning foreign nations. To substitute הַדְּבָרִים *the word* for הַמִּשְׁנֵא, following ῥῆμα of the LXX (Cheyne) does not stand, for ῥῆμα is found for הַמִּשְׁנֵא also in 15:1 and 17:1 where הַדְּבָרִים could not stand. That the heading cannot be correct as it now reads is admitted even by those who claim the Isaianic authorship of the prophecy.

Two dates within the time of Isaiah were thought of as forming a reasonable background for the prophecy. One of these is the year 720, where the prophecy would refer to the disturbances in Syria and Palestine, which followed the defeat of Sargon by the Elamites, the allies of Merodach Baladan, in which Assyria lost its most prized possession, Babylon.² This is an attempt to bring the event as near as possible into harmony with the heading. The inference rests upon the Babylonian chronicle.³ The inscriptions of Sargon are silent on this point. The other date is 705,⁴ the year of Sargon's death. In this case נָחָשׁ *a serpent*, vs. 29, would refer to Sargon, and שָׂרָף מְעוֹפֵף, *a fiery flying serpent*, to Sennacherib. The Philistines

¹ 733-721.

² Cheyne *op. cit.* 80, 81; cf. Winckler *Untersuchungen* 135-137.

³ B, col. 1, ll. 33-35.

⁴ Guthe *Kautzsch Bibel* wavers between this date and 711.

might naturally rejoice over the death of Sargon, who had defeated Hanno of Gaza at Raphia in 720, and captured Ashdod in 711. That Sennacherib severely punished the Philistines is clear from his inscriptions.¹ Others have thought of the time of Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727) and Shalmaneser IV (726-722),² and still others thought the time of Shalmaneser and Sargon most suited to the prophecy. Thus far all points to Isaiah as the author of the prophecy. Of all the dates mentioned 705 seems the most likely to be the correct one. The inviolability of Zion, vs. 32, certainly is an Isaianic idea. So also is the sympathy for the poor, vs. 30, so that the prophecy finds a reasonable explanation in the Assyrian period and may plausibly be claimed for Isaiah.

But is there not another period in which the prophecy finds even a more perfect explanation? Duhm thinks of the period after the battle of Issos, 333, and before the capture of Tyre and Gaza by Alexander the Great, as the situation best explaining the prophecy, and refers to the suffering of the Philistines during the reign of the last Persian kings, in their conflict with Egypt, as sufficient ground for rejoicing over the downfall of Persia. The phrase עֲנִי עַמּוֹ, *the poor of his people*, is decidedly postexilic in appearance. Marti agrees with Duhm and thinks the allusion points to the reign of Ochus as the cause of the hatred against the Persians on part of the Philistines. Cheyne also holds this view now.³ But did Philistia suffer such severe violence at the hand of the Persians? And, if so, did not, as we have seen before, Judah suffer mistreatment at that time so that Zion was not any more a place of refuge for the afflicted? Yet the predominating evidence points toward this time. If accepted, then the prophecy throws confirming light upon the historic evidence of the cruelty of Ochus in his western campaigns.

(4) Isa., chaps. 24-27, a singular production without any heading, which later critics agree in assigning to another age than Isaiah's. Already Ewald⁴ claimed only a part of it for Isaiah, namely 26:6-8, chaps. 10 and 11, 27:9-13, as Isaianic. Delitzsch,⁵ in the first three

¹ Driver *Life and Times of Isa.* 67 f.

² So W. R. Smith *The Proph. of Isr.* 319, and Kuenen and Driver.

³ Art. "Isaiah" in *E. B.* II. 2, 197.

⁴ *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott* III. 444.

⁵ 1866 f. For his latest view *vide infra*, p. 58.

editions of his commentary, says that it is arbitrary to deny the authorship of Isaiah of an entire section fundamentally, and in a thousand details Isaianic, simply because of its peculiarities. J. Bredencamp¹ regards the main portion Isaianic with some lyrical parts as later insertions. As late as 1891 W. E. Barnes thought it necessary to publish a learned "Examination of the Objections brought against the Genuineness of Isa., chaps. 24-27." Two years later C. H. H. Wright² found "nothing really opposed to the Isaianic authorship."

Among the reasons for rejecting the Isaianic authorship the following may be mentioned as conclusive:³ (a) The section lacks a suitable historical occasion in Isaiah's time. There is no period in the Assyrian history into which it really fits well. The situation is certainly not that of any of the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah. (b) The social and religious circumstances described are those of a time in which priests constitute the most important class, 24:2, pointing to the time after the priestly law-book had become canonical. (c) The ideas and ideals are not those of Isaiah. In Isaiah the remnant which escapes is saved in Judah or Jerusalem, 4:3; here the voices of the redeemed are first heard from distant quarters of the earth, 24:14-16.⁴ The extension of religious privileges to all peoples, 25:6, is characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah and later times. The hope of the resurrection of individual Israelites, 26:19, is certainly not Isaianic. (d) The linguistic and stylistic representation is in many respects unlike that of Isaiah. It is more artificial and characterized by many unusual expressions. The many similarities can easily be accounted for by the writer's familiarity with and imitation of Isaiah. "One cannot think of a greater contrast than these chapters and the undoubted authentic speeches of Isaiah."⁵ Not only do these arguments point to a post-Isaianic period, but as well to a postexilic time. It only remains to determine how far down we are to go.

The question of the literary unity must first be considered before that of authorship can be settled. Already Ewald rightly recognized that 25:1-5 breaks the connection between 24:23 and 25:6.

¹ *Commentar*, 1886, 1887, *ad. loc.*

² Art. "Isaiah" in Smith's *B. D.* 1893².

³ Cf. Cheyne *op. cit.* 147-54.

⁴ Driver *Introd.* 221.

⁵ Cornill *op. cit.* 173.

Then the problem was left to rest for a long time, until Duhm rightly continued in the same direction and reached the conclusion that 24:1-23, 25:6-8, 26:20-21, 27:1, 12-13, form an apocalypse which constitutes the groundwork of chaps. 24-27. This apocalypse describes the approaching of the desolation of a great world-empire by war, closing with the judgment of Jahwe over angels and kings. Upon this follows the descent of Jahwe upon Zion in visible glory where the divine throne is set up in the holy city. Judah shall hide itself till the storm has destroyed the three world-powers, 27:1, after which the Syrian and Egyptian diaspora will join her. The remaining portions he considers as late accretions and of a lyrical nature. Chap. 25, vss. 1-5, is a song in commemoration of the destruction of a strong citadel on account of which a city of strong people will honor and fear God; 25:9-11, an isolated taunting song of Moab; 26:1-19, with 25:12, a unique artistic poem; and 27:2-5, a little song. Concerning the hortatory verses, 27:7-11, he has some hesitancy. Cheyne and Cornill agree with Duhm in this analysis. So also does Marti, who establishes more definitely 27:7-11 as an accretion.

Hence we have not a single work written in twelve strophes of the same hexameter movement as C. A. Briggs¹ states, but "a mosaic of passages in different styles by several writers,"² as Duhm has conclusively shown. A further division was attempted by J. Boehmer³ into two different groups, namely, 24:1-23; 25:6-8 and 26:9-21; 27:1, 12, 13. This, however, increases the difficulty of finding a suitable situation, especially for the second group, and affords no advantage. From what has been said it is clear that chaps. 24-27 are not Isaianic and that they are not a unity. It remains to find a later period of history for a suitable background, both for the groundwork and for the accretions.

At least three postexilic periods were thought of before a literary analysis was worked out. (a) The early Persian period. So Ewald, Delitzsch,⁴ and Dillmann, 1890. Driver formerly claimed the Isaianic authorship, but now places the chapters between 536 and 440. Oort⁵ pleads for a date in the fifth century but before the

¹ *Messianic Prophecies* 295.

² Cheyne *op. cit.* 295.

³ 1897.

⁴ *Messianische Weissagungen*, 1890, 143 f.

⁵ *Theol. Tijdschr.*, 1886, 186-94.

governorship of Nehemiah, chiefly on the ground that by the time of Nehemiah the land of Moab must have become Nabataean. This argument, however, affects only 25:9-11 and not the groundwork. Guthe¹ thinks there is no certainty of time to be ascribed, but feels certain that it is at all events postexilic, and inclines to the reign of Ochus. This period has some points in its favor. The fact that historical data in the chapters are so few, makes it difficult to decide definitely. If placed here, then the references are to the troubles of the warlike reigns of Cambyses and Darius I (*vide supra*). In this case "the city," 24:10, 12; 25:2; 26:5, 6; 27:10, is Babylon, a conclusion which is by no means self-evident. Moreover it is difficult, if at all possible, to find anywhere between 536 and 464 any historical situation which will at all adequately explain the representation of chap. 24 and much in chap. 26. Cheyne² adds this decisive argument that in 24:5 there is an allusion to Gen. 9:3-6, 15, 16 and in 24:18 to Gen. 7:11, both of which passages belong to P, so that chaps. 24-27 must be later than the reformation of Nehemiah and Ezra. (b) The late Persian period. This was the later view of Kuenen³ who formerly held that the author lived during the first part of the exile and that he predicted the fall of Babylon. Vatke,⁴ who had decided for the Maccabaeon period, later placed the chapters after 348, the destruction of Sidon through Ochus. Kirkpatrick⁵ less definitely regards the fourth century as the time of the origin of the chapters. (c) In close connection with this period is the early Greek, where Stade⁶ finds an adequate background for the chapters. Smend⁷ inclines with Hilgenfeld⁸ to the time of the wars of Alexander after the conquest of Tyre in 332. The wars of Ochus, and later those of Alexander, are thought to be reflected in these chapters. "The city" would then have to be taken collectively and would refer to Sidon, Jerusalem, and Tyre. The long struggle of Egypt for independence, beginning already under Artaxerxes Mnemon and con-

¹ *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* 291 f. and Kautzsch *Bibel*.

² *Op. cit.* 154.

³ *Onderzook*² II. 99.

⁴ *Bibl. Theol.*, 1835, 550; *Einkl. in das A. T.*, 1886, 623.

⁵ *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, 1892, 475, f.

⁶ *Op. cit.* I. 586.

⁷ *Z. A. T. W.*, 1884, 161-224.

⁸ *Z. W. Th.*, 1866, 398-448.

tinuing till the complete reconquest under Ochus in 343, could scarcely go on without much distress to Judah.

It must be remembered that all the above-named critics saw no necessity for analyzing the chapters into component parts. They considered them essentially a unity. This was left for Duhm. And with him the problem of a correct date becomes a double one, first for the apocalypse and then for the later portions. That the ground-work is an apocalypse and not a prophecy may be accepted as correct.¹ Duhm thinks the external situation is that of despair; Jerusalem lies in ruins; the three world-powers, "the gliding serpent," "the winding serpent" and "the monster that is in the sea," 27:1, are the Parthians, the Syrians, and the Egyptians. The author of the apocalypse lived during the time of John Hyrcanus, 134-104. He saw the siege of Jerusalem, and the devastation of Judah through Antiochus VII, Sidetes; the beginning of the war with the Parthians in which the Jews were forced to take part, 129; the defeat and death of Antiochus, 128, who is obscurely mentioned in 24:14-16a. The lyrical portions are later. In 25:1-5 Duhm sees the exultation of the Jews over the destruction of Samaria by John Hyrcanus between 113 and 105, and the demolition of the temple on Mount Gerizim.² "The city of terrible nations" is Rome. The same background is assumed for 26:1-19. Chap. 25, vss. 9-11, belongs in the time of Alexander Jannaeus, 135-105, who made the Moabites pay tribute.³

To this view of Duhm, Cheyne and Cornill see a grave objection in the history of the prophetic canon which they consider practically closed at 200 B. C. Cheyne⁴ argues that a strong reason is required for making any considerable part of Isaiah later than 200 B. C.⁵ But the history of the canon rests upon the internal or textual evidence largely and not the existence of the text on the canon. Other portions of Isaiah are evidently as late as the last years of the second century B. C. (*vide supra*). Cheyne finds a satisfactory background for the apocalypse in the period of the long-continued desolating wars over Syria and Palestine during the reigns of Artaxerxes Mnemon and of Ochus in the long struggles of Egypt for independence, ending

¹ So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, Cornill.

² Cf. Schürer *op. cit.* I. 277.

³ Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13. 5.

⁴ Art. "Isaiah" in *E. B.* II. 2, 202.

⁵ Cf. Budde Art. "Canon" in *E. B.* I, §39 and n. 1.

in the consolidation of the powers of the Ptolemies in Palestine in 301. The frequent march of Persian armies to Egypt must have caused much distress to the Jews. He sees in chap. 24 a monument of the prolonged misery of the time. The city or cities of destruction, vs. 10, may allude to Sidon and Jerusalem. In 27:10, 11 is a description of the condition of Jerusalem in or soon after 347. The hope that is held out to the Jews is the overthrow of the Persian power through Alexander the Great; the glittering weapons of whose troops were already appearing on the distant horizon. Hence the date of the apocalypse would be about the year 334. Cornill regards the apocalypse to date from *ca.* 330, only a few years later than Cheyne, following Stade and Smend.

The lyrical portions Cheyne assigns to the early years of Alexander the Great, immediately after the fall of Tyre, as the most probable date. The liturgical poem, 26:1-19, may describe the feelings of the pious community of Jews, when their city had been spared by the army of Alexander, deeply grateful for this, yet painfully conscious of the ruin wrought by the tyrant Ochus. The gap made by the deportation to Hyrcania was still felt.¹

It must be admitted that much in the apocalypse finds an explanation in the closing years of the Persian empire. In the way of accepting this date stands 24:10, for to take "the city" to mean Sidon and Jerusalem is difficult. Evidence is lacking for any humiliation of Moab at this time such as 25:9-11 represents (*vide supra*). Was Tyre ever "the lofty city," 26:5, over whose bringing low the Jews would have any occasion to rejoice? From what we know of the time of John Hyrcanus and of the closing years of the Persian period, the predominating evidence seems to point in favor of the former for the chapters under consideration. Perhaps if we knew what we do not know of each period the order might be reversed.

Not only the latest but as well the clearest treatment of the chapters is that of Marti,² who in the main follows Duhm. He considers the apocalypse to embrace (a) 24:1-23, the revolution of the globe, the judgment over the powers in heaven and on earth, and Jahwe establishing his throne in Zion; (b) 25:6-8, the feast of Jahwe for all people

¹ *Op. cit.* 155-160; cf. Art. "Isaiah" in *E. B.* II.

² *Op. cit.* 182-202.

in Zion; (c) 26:20—27:1, the security of the Jews during the judgment of the world; and (d) 27:12-13 the gathering of all Jews to the homage of Jahwe in Zion and to the participation in the kingdom of God. The apocalypse is characterized by its deep ethical grasp and its human feeling. It is a humane spirit that expresses itself here: the people experience in contrast with the world-rulers coming into judgment (24:21, 22; 27:1) divine compassion, 25:6-8; yet this magnificent universalism is not altogether free from the particularism of the ordinary Judaism which, however, receives a certain prerogative.

That the apocalypse originated in a late time cannot be denied. Aside from the Aramaic form *חָתַב* *hide thyself*, 26:20, the theological conceptions which have their parallels in the latest portions of the Old Testament, in the Jewish literature of the last two centuries of the pre-Christian era, as also in the later centuries, and in the New Testament, point to a late time. This appears (a) from the taking prisoner of the host on high and the rulers on earth, 24:21-22; (b) from the appearance of Jahwe in splendor and glory in Zion, 24:23; (c) from the feast of the peoples in Zion 25:6-8; (d) from the security of the Jews, in the judgment of the world, 26:20; and (e) from the great trumpet with which the signal for assembling will be given, 27:13. The more definite time of origin can be determined from the reference of the apocalyptist to the situation of the world: Jerusalem has not yet recovered from the conquest of Antiochus VII, Sidetes, at the beginning of the reign of John Hyrcanus I (134-114), 24:7-12; the death of Antiochus Sidetes in the campaign against the Parthians, 128, awakes among the Jews of the uttermost parts of the earth the highest hopes, but the apocalyptist expects, although Judea had now become free, the entrance of "the robbers," i. e., the Parthians and, in connection therewith, the judgment of the world long since predicted by the prophets, in which first of all the three world-powers, the Parthians, the Syrians, and the Egyptians, will be destroyed. From all this Marti concludes with Duhm that the apocalypse originated shortly after 128 B. C. and that the author is to be sought in the ranks of the Chasidim who expected help alone from God.

The secondary elements Marti enumerates as follows: (a) 25:1-5, the hymn on the destruction of Samaria, dating from *ca.* 107; (b)

25:9-11, a song of thanksgiving for achieved victory and the hope of the certain overthrow of Moab, from the last years of John Hyrcanus or of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus; (c) 26:1-19, the praise of God for the victory granted the righteous in the overthrow of Samaria and for the salvation promised for the future, from the same time as (a); (d) 25:2-5, a poem: Israel the vineyard of Jahwe, probably from the same time as (a) and (c); and (e) 27:7-11, the last condition for the approach of the day of salvation, an incitement for the complete destruction of Samaria, hence from the time between the writing of the apocalypse and the fall of Samaria, 128-111, by an author to be sought among the Sadducees.¹

These chapters consequently cannot be accepted as historical sources for the reign of Ochus.

(5) Isa. 32:1-20, a part of the group of prophecies, chaps. 28-33, the bulk of which dates from the closing years of Isaiah, namely from the years of the league between Hezekiah and Egypt. This chapter, accepted by Hitzig and Ewald as Isaianic, was by Kuenen assigned with hesitancy to the reign of Josiah or somewhat later. Driver holds to the Isaianic authorship, and likewise Duhm, except for vss. 6-8 which he considers as very general sayings spoken by a theologian, not by a politician. Both place the chapter in the closing years of Isaiah. Stade² first declared the chapter non-Isaianic, and was followed by Guthe, Cheyne, Marti, and Cornill. Cheyne pointed out in vss. 1-8 alone, among other reasons, eighteen or nineteen words which do not occur at all or at least not in the same sense, in the generally acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah, and places them in the fifth century. He agrees with Duhm in separating vss. 9-14 and 15-20 as by a different writer and inclines to find the historic background for both groups in the oppression of the Jews by Artaxerxes Ochus, though he admits that it is not necessary to come down so far. Duhm considers no argument yet produced sufficient to call the chapter, except vss. 6-8, non-Isaianic. Marti takes vss. 1-5 and 15b-20 together as a portrayal of the prosperity of the Messianic time parallel with Isa. 11:1-8, with which the collector of chaps. 28-31 wished to close the group. Because of the similarity with the prover-

¹ *Op. cit.* 201-2, a free rendering.

² *Z. A. T. W.*, 1884, 256-71.

bial literature he dates the sections in the Greek period. Vss. 9-14 are parallel with 3:16-4:1 and, like that, should precede the portrayal of the Messianic happiness before 32:1, and probably date from the same time as the other sections, while vss. 6-8 evidently come from the years 168-165, the time of Antiochus IV, Epiphanes.

(6) Isa. 33:1-24, the future happiness of the capital Jerusalem rescued from danger. Already Ewald pronounced the chapter non-Isaianic and ascribed it to a disciple of Isaiah in the last years of Hezekiah. Kuenen, with hesitation, inclined to the reign of Josiah or a little later. But there was no church at that time such as is implied in chap. 33. Driver dates the chapter a year later than chap. 32, namely 701, while all other later critics accept the postexilic date. Cheyne gives the argument for this at some length,¹ and ascribes the chapter to the second half of the Persian period, possibly though not necessarily in the reign of Ochus. The educated Jews of that time, he says, "had two special consolations or recreations: first, they dwelt in imagination in the glorious future which the deepening gloom did but bring nearer, and, next, they enriched the extant prophetic records with insertions and appendices, expressive of their own hopes and aspirations."²

A better solution is that of Duhm and Marti who call the chapter an apocalyptic poem and place it, the one in the year 162 under Antiochus Eupator, the other a year earlier. Marti calls the chapter "a poem of consolation from that unfortunate time." Cornill agrees that the chapter is apocalyptic, later than chap. 32, and sees in it a fitting close for the group of prophecies reflecting the time of Sennacherib. Bickell³ found by rearranging the text two Maccabaeian poems, one a prayer to Jahwe for help after a defeat, the other an acrostic poem on Simon, probably of the year 142, after the entrance into Jerusalem delivered by the Syrians. While such a rearrangement is not at all impossible, the gain therefrom is scarcely sufficient to justify it.

Hence there is nothing of sufficient definiteness in chaps. 32 and 33 bearing on the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus to justify their acceptance as historic sources for that period.

(7) Isa., chaps. 56-66, the so-called Trito-Isaiah. It is only

¹ *Op. cit.* 163-73.

² *Ibid.* 172.

³ *Z. K. M.*, 1897.

within recent years that these chapters were separated from chaps. 40-55. That they form a separate group of prophecies from those of chaps. 40-55 is now rightly the prevailing opinion. A brief general summary of the history of the criticism of chaps. 56-66 will be helpful in determining their true place in history. There are essentially four periods to which the chapters have been assigned, not to mention the writers who claim them for Isaiah.¹

a) First in connection with Isa., chaps. 40-55, known as Deutero-Isaiah, in the last years of the exile, not as a separate group of prophecies, but as a part of Deutero-Isaiah, or, at the utmost, as additions by the same or another author or authors. Thus Ewald considered chaps. 58-59 as borrowed by Deutero-Isaiah from a contemporary of Ezekiel, and 63:7-66:1-24 as added by the same author after the return from the exile. Dillman placed chaps. 40-48 at *ca.* 545, chaps. 49-62 from 545-538, and chaps. 63-66 as an appendix at the time of the edict of Cyrus. Kuenen regarded chaps. 40-49, 52:1-12 and perhaps also 52:13-53:12 as the prophecy of the restoration, and the rest he ascribed on internal grounds to an author or authors in Palestine after the return from the exile, either Deutero-Isaiah himself or subsequent writers belonging to the same school. Stade² accepted the chapters as from one author writing at the close of the exile, but recognized the incongruity of chaps. 54 f. with the preceding. These were worked over and additions from the same and later times were made:

Dass diese Capitel auf einen und denselben am Ende des Exils weissagenden Mann zurückzuführen seien, trifft wenigstens im Wesentlichen das Richtige, da die Weissagungen dieses Mannes des Abschnittes Jes Capp 40-66 bilden. Einzelne der in ihm stehende Abschnitte erklären sich jedoch nicht aus den Zeitverhältnissen am Ausgange des Exils oder sprengen den Zusammenhang. Zuweilen liegt auch beides vor. . . . Deshalb wird zunächst an Uebersetzungen oder Einschaltungen fremder, frühestens gleichzeitiger Stücke zu denken sein, und erst, wo hierdurch die vorhandenen Rätsel nicht gelöst werden, an Einschaltungen älterer. (S. 70).

Wildeboer³ agrees that chaps. 40-48 were written in Babylon but claims that the greater part of chaps. 49-62 presupposes a writer

¹ Hengstenberg, Havernitz, Drechsler, Delitzsch³, Stier, Keil, Löhr, Rutgers, Himpel, Nägelsbach, Douglas, W. H. Cobb.

² *Op. cit.* II. 68-94.

³ *De Letterkunde*, Ger. Transl. §17.

living in Palestine, at the same time as the author of chaps. 40-48. In chaps. 63-66 alone does he find the marks of a later hand. Even these loosely connected fragments may as far as their contents are concerned come from the same prophet, but not in their present form. A peculiar view, and one which remained practically his own, is that of Bredencamp who takes a middle ground, claiming a nucleus of genuine Isaianic passages in chaps. 40-66 which were amplified and published by a prophet of the period of the exile. J. Ley¹ considers chaps. 40-66 as one continuous work dominated by a unity of spirit, hence from one author, and written during a period of from thirty to thirty-five years from the advances of Cyrus toward western Asia till the second year of Darius Hystaspis. Driver² and Orelli³ call chaps. 40-66 one continuous prophecy from toward the close of the exile, dealing throughout with a common theme, namely Israel's restoration from exile in Babylon, and all from one author. With this view J. Skinner⁴ agrees in the main, though not without due recognition of the possibility of a later date for chaps. 56-66, inclining to the eve of the great reformation under Nehemiah.

b) The second period is that between the return and the building of the temple, 538-520. It will be remembered that none of the authorities mentioned in (a) hold to a separation of chaps. 40-55 and 56-66. This division was first made by Marti⁵ in an investigation suggested to him in a conversation with Duhm, who afterwards worked out the problem fully.⁶ E. Sellin⁷ considers this division absolutely established and feels certain that chaps. 56-66 were written in Palestine. In an earlier work⁸ he thought to have established the fall of Zerubbabel and a destruction of the second temple between 515 and 500, and thought of the period following this as the time of origin for these chapters. In his later investigation he abandons this view and finds the period 538-520 the best background

¹ *Hist. Erklärung* 157.

² *Introd.* 230 f.

³ *Der Prophet Jesaja*, 1904³, 141-45.

⁴ *Isa.*, chaps. 40-66 in *Camb. Bible*, 1898.

⁵ *Der Proph. Sach. der Zeitgenosse Serubbabels*, 1892, 40, 41, n.

⁶ "Jesaja" *H. K. A. T.*

⁷ *Die Restauration der Jüd. Gemeinde in den Jahren 538-516*, 1901, 124-53.

⁸ *Serubbabel*, 1899.

for the prophecy as a whole, and bases his conclusion upon the references: 63:18, 64:9, and 66:1-5. He finds nothing in the entire book that points with certainty to the existence of the temple before the composition of the prophecy. "So ist unser Resultat, dass zwar drei ganz konkrete Anhaltspunkte die Entstehung von Jes. Kap. 56-66 zwischen 537 und 520 beweisen, dass aber kein einziges Argument existiert, welches die Abfassung nach dieser Zeit wahrscheinlich macht" (S. 147). As to the author he ventures no decision, but inclines to Deutero-Isaiah returned from the Babylonian exile, and thinks we are not yet justified to speak of a Trito-Isaiah (150-151). Sellin stands alone in placing the entire prophecy in this period. Others place certain portions here, e. g., 63:7-64:12. So for instance H. Gressmann¹ and E. Littmann² (*vide infra*). Cornill³ in earlier editions of his *Einleitung in das A. T.* placed the prophecy before 520, claiming that Haggai (2:7-9) borrowed from Trito-Isaiah, but in his sixth edition this view is abandoned (*vide infra*).

c) The third period is the eve of the great reformation of Nehemiah, shortly before 444. It is here where Duhm has rendered lasting services, for his placing the chapters in this period at once furnished the key to the interpretation of many otherwise dark and meaningless passages. Trito-Isaiah is for him a postexilic author, at a time when the Kahal or the Jewish religious community had long been established, Jerusalem inhabited, the temple built, yet everything in a pitiable condition. The leaders of the community avail nothing, the rich oppress the poor, on fast days there is contention and strife, the pious are no more. Jahwe has no instrument like Cyrus: he must with his own hand execute vengeance upon his enemies. These enemies are the heretics, the false brethren of the Jerusalem community upon whom the day of vengeance will come. They will be made an example before the pious for whom the day of salvation will appear. The sun and moon will be no more, wild beasts will be tame, men will live for several centuries. The temple will be ornamented with precious wood from Lebanon and enriched by the wealth of the nations. The Diaspora will return and the nations will unite themselves with the Jews.

¹ *Ueber die in Jes. 54-66 vorausgesetzten zeitgeschichtlichen Verhältnisse*, 1898.

² *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia*, 1899. ³ *Op. cit.* 1984, 1613.

Duhm considers the entire prophecy, except some minor additions, as the work of one author who was at the same time the redactor of chaps. 40-55, a theologian, and an apocalypticist, thoroughly imbued with theocratic ideas. The contrast between chaps. 40-55 and 56-66 is very marked. The text of chaps. 55-66 is not well preserved and is full of glosses and additions. The original order is uncertain but it is probable that chaps. 61-66 preceded chaps. 56-60, since chap. 61 would make as good a beginning as chap. 60 would a close. It is possible that chaps. 56-66 were composed as an appendix to Deutero-Isaiah. Trito-Isaiah is at once a supplement to Malachi and a forerunner of the priest codex.

Duhm soon had a large following. Smend¹ first of all declared his full acceptance of the hypothesis. Cheyne calls the work the most important on the subject since the appearance of Ewald's *Prophets*, and accepts in the main the conclusion as to date. Chaps. 56-66, he says, contain no works of the second Isaiah, but, with the possible or probable exception of 63:7-64:12, which belong in the time of Artaxerxes Ochus (*vide infra*), belong to nearly the same period—that of Nehemiah. He rejects, however, the view that the book has anything like literary unity and that it is the work of one man. On the contrary it is the work of a number of different writers who fell under the literary spell of Deutero-Isaiah and loved to perpetuate his teaching and develop his ideas. He considers it practically certain that chaps. 60-62 are an appendix to chaps. 40-55, of which the original order probably was 61, 62, 60. While 56:9-57:13a belongs to the same period as the main portions, it shows in a special degree the influence of Ezekiel. To a still later time than 63:7-64:12 belongs the outburst of bitter animosity in 66:23, 24. It was significant that Wellhausen² likewise accepted the conclusions of Duhm. "Dass Isa., Kap. 56 ss. nicht zu Kap. 40 ss. gehören, sondern aus späterer Zeit stammen, halte ich für erwiesen." Koster³ agrees with Cheyne as to the position of chaps. 56-66, and with Duhm leaves 63:7-64:12 in the same time. Marti, who has first called attention to the division between chaps. 40-55 and 56-66, agrees essentially,

¹ *Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte* 339, n. 2.

² *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*² 151, n. 1; cf. 19045, 159, n. 1.

³ *Theol. Tijdschr.*, 1896, 577-623.

both in his earlier works¹ and in his *Isaiah*, with Duhm's treatment of the subject. Marti considers the chapters, aside from minor additions, as coming from one author who lived in Jerusalem in the middle of the fifth century before the arrival of Nehemiah. E. Meyer² considers this view from a historical standpoint correct. "Das Verständniss des Schlusstheils des Jesaibuches von Kap. 56 an, des 'Tritojesaia' hat Duhm . . . erschlossen" (120). H. Gressmann³ agrees with Duhm that chaps. 56-66 are on ground of thought content and language a separate work from Deutero-Isaiah and that all parts are postexilic (30, 26), and with Cheyne that the chapters are not a literary unity. "Tritojesaia ist keine einheitliche Schrift, sondern besteht aus vielen meistens zusammenhanglosen Stücken" (26). Both Cheyne and Gressmann made a careful linguistic analysis and came to the same conclusion, namely, that these chapters are of different origin from chaps. 40-55. Gressmann considers chaps. 56-66 as originating from Judea but no part as coming from Deutero-Isaiah. A more exact time than post-exilic is scarcely probable, even impossible (6), except for 66:1-4, which he places immediately before the building of the temple, where also 63:7-64:12 probably belongs. Of essentially the same opinion as Duhm is E. Littmann⁴ for whom the work is for the most part a unity, and from one author and from the years 457-455, except 63:7-64:12 which probably come from the years 538-520. As not belonging to Trito-Isaiah 59:5-8; 66:23, 24 are certain and 56:1-8 probable, besides minor additions. Cornill⁵ who held a more conservative view earlier now inclines to the same conclusion that the prophecy is fashioned after Deutero-Isaiah and is the work of one author who lived in Palestine and who wrote not immediately after the exile nor later than Nehemiah (181-182).

d) The fourth and last period to which our chapters have been assigned is the second half of the Persian period. Cheyne⁶ considers 63:7-64:12 as probably belonging in this time, a conclusion which Guthe⁷ is inclined to accept. G. Hölscher⁸ places not only

¹ *Theol. des A. T.*, 1894², and *Gesch. der Isr. Religion*, 1897, 361 f.

² *Entst. des Judentums* 120 f. ³ *Op. cit.* ⁴ *Op. cit.* ⁵ *Op. cit.*

⁶ *Op. cit.* 349-63; cf. Art. "Isaiah" in *E. B. II.*

⁷ *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* 291.

⁸ *Palästina in der Pers. u. Hel. Zeit* 37-43.

these chapters here but the entire Trito-Isaiah. He agrees with Duhm and others that these chapters are a literary unity, the work of an author who lived in Palestine, and that his work is a polemic directed against the Samaritans. "Die Polemik richtet sich also gegen Leute, die zum Kultus von Jerusalem gehalten haben aber im Begriffe sind, Jahwe zu verlassen und einen eigenen Tempel sich bauen wollen" (40). But he dates the prophecies a century later, namely in the time of Artaxerxes Ochus. He reverses the argument. Instead of dating the Samaritan schism according to Neh. 13:28, 29 he dates it according to Isa., chaps. 55-66 and denies that Neh. 13:28, 29 has any reference to the schism of Shechem, since it only refers to a priest guilty of mixed marriage who continued in his office.¹ Josephus *Ant.* xi. 7.2; 8.2.4 is best explained as a false exegesis of the Nehemiah passage, and is not, as is usually done, to be accepted as correct in event but wrong in date.

The references to the ruins of the walls, 60:10, 15, 62:4, 6, 7, he admits, but claims also the ruin of the temple, which does not at all fit into the time of Nehemiah. He finds no compelling reason for regarding 64:9-11 as a later addition, as Marti does (*vide infra*). Yet he does not use these verses according to which Jerusalem was desolate and the temple ruined in flames for an argument, but he refers to 63:18, which Duhm and Marti retain, with slight emendations. This does not necessarily mean a radical destruction of the temple but at any rate a severe damage to it. These words do not sound as if the destruction of Jerusalem through Nebuchadrezzar, a century or more before, were meant, but evidently one much closer. In 60:18 the writer comforts his readers with the words:

Violence shall no more be heard in thy land,
Desolation nor destruction within thy borders.

For such comfort there must have been occasion at that time. Hence Hölscher concludes against Marti that at the time of Trito-Isaiah some calamity through war must have befallen the Jews in which both the walls and the temple were greatly damaged, an event which does not fit into the time of Nehemiah (41). To establish this conclusion he adds the following arguments: (a) the mention of a

¹ For another view cf. Stade, *Gesch.* II. 188 f.

Jewish Diaspora, 60:9; 66:19, unknown before Nehemiah; (b) the acceptance of proselytes, 56:3 f., the very opposite of Ezra and Nehemiah, finding its best explanation in the time of Ruth and Jonah; (c) the Nabataeans are elsewhere mentioned only in passages after Nehemiah;¹ (d) Isa. 65:10 marks a boundary in the east comprehensible only after the destruction of Jericho through Artaxerxes Ochus in 352, during whose reign the separation of the Samaritans from the Jews took place. Trito-Isaiah would then have a twofold purpose: To comfort the pious over the calamity that came upon them through the campaign of Artaxerxes Ochus, and a polemic against the schismatics who are about to build their own temple (42).

A more detailed examination of 63:7—64:12 will help to determine the problem before us. The section offers difficulties for the period just before Nehemiah and has been assigned to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus by several authorities. Various different views have been advanced concerning the origin of the passage: (a) As we have already seen, Ley, Gressmann, Littmann and Sellin think of the time after the return of the exile and before the rebuilding of the temple, hence between 538 and 520. They take 64:9—11 to refer to the destruction of the temple in 586, and 63:18 and 66:1 f. to the condition of the returned exiles, namely, oppression by enemies, and before the temple was rebuilt. (b) To this Duhm, Marti, and with them Kusters and Cornill, answer that the Kahal was organized, Jerusalem inhabited, and the temple built, but the walls in ruins, and assign the section to the time immediately before Nehemiah, somewhere between 458 and 444. Duhm emends and translates 63:18:

For a short time have we possessed thy holy city,
Our oppressors have trodden down thy sanctuary,

and sees in it a reference to the conditions referred to in Neh. 1:3. The oppressors are the Samaritans. He calls 63:7—64:12 "without doubt the best that Trito-Isaiah has written." The second temple exists, but the writer ignores it because of its inferiority to the first, just as the old men who had seen the first temple wept at the foundation-laying of the second temple, Ezr. 3:12, 13. "Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee," vs. 11, refers

¹ Cf. Cheyne in *E. B.* III. 3,254; Hölscher *op. cit.* 23-25.

to the Solomonic temple. Marti sees in 63:18 an unmistakable reference to the second temple and thinks the author must have lived while it existed. That the author of 64:9-11 ignored the second temple and referred to the first can hardly be correct, and so he calls the verses a later addition, from the same hand as the gloss in 63:15, 16, dating from the time of the Syrian persecution under the Maccabees in the second century. (c) Cheyne, to whose view Guthe inclines, and Hölscher, as we have already seen, find the most satisfactory explanation in the history of the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, and think of some calamity that befell Jerusalem and the temple at that time, of which traces are found in secular history (*vide supra*). Cheyne considers these verses a unique composition different from the rest of chaps. 56-66 which he also places shortly before Nehemiah, while Hölscher regards the chapters as a unity and brings them all into this period. Cheyne¹ calls the text of 63:18 "notoriously doubtful" and emends and translates:

Why do the wicked trample thy dwelling place?
Our adversaries tread down thy sanctuary.

Marti answers this by pointing out that the verse speaks not of a destruction of the temple but of despising it. So he emends and translates:

Why do the ungodly despise (belittle, ridicule) thy temple?
Why do our adversaries trample down (treat with depreciation) thy sanctuary?

This no doubt is the best rendering and gives us the correct thought. But Marti's view of the date obliges him to treat 64:9-11 as an addition where Duhm is driven to an unwarranted interpretation. The date of Cheyne and Hölscher makes the interpretation simpler if otherwise justifiable. Marti's rendering of 63:18 could then be accepted for this period as well as a century earlier, since it is not definitely known what calamity befell the temple in the days of Ochus. Was it literally burned? Was it only polluted? Or merely despised and belittled and depreciated? To the Jews the last might have been as much of a burden as the first. Must the outside historical evidence be absolute before we can date the chapters here? With the strong probability of the external history furnishing

¹ Art. "Isaiah" in *E. B.* II. 2, 207.

a clearer and more satisfactory explanation of these chapters, why can we not take these chapters to strengthen and confirm the external history? As long as these chapters lose nothing on the one hand by placing them in this later period, and on the other gain in clearness and historic meaning, is there any reason why they should not be placed here?

e) One other period was thought of, namely, by Grotius and Hubigant, who assign the chapters to the Maccabaeian time, but scarcely with sufficient probability. The period would indeed furnish the explanation of 64:9-11 as Marti has shown, but the remainder of the section does not require so late a date and these verses find a reasonable explanation earlier.

If now 63:7-64:12 finds reasonable explanation in the late Persian period, how about the remainder of chaps. 56-66? In answer to the five different views advanced with reference to the prophecy as a whole the following may be said: (a) That chaps. 40-55 and 56-66 are not one work but two groups of prophecies from different authors and at different times may, thanks to the services of Marti and Duhm, and their followers, be accepted as established, on ground of differences in thought content, historic background, and as Cheyne and Gressmann have satisfactorily shown, also on ground of difference in language. (b) The period of 538-520, aside from the fact that its advocate, Sellin, stands alone, is improbable if not impossible for reasons already stated. The references to the existence of the second temple are too definite, the whole development of the Kahal too evident, and the difference in language too great to accept this. (c) That the prophecy was written in Jerusalem shortly before the arrival of Nehemiah, as Duhm, Marti and others claim, has much in its favor. Attention has rightly been called to the existence of the Kahal and the temple with its cult, the habitation of Jerusalem, Sabbaths and fast-days, the presence of enemies and the coming day of revenge upon them, the expectation of a brighter future for Jerusalem and the return of the Diaspora. Points in common with Malachi may also be admitted. On the other hand there are difficulties in the way of this date. First of all is the section 63:7-64:11, a part of which at least cannot belong here. Duhm tries to retain it but is driven to a forced interpretation for 64:9-11, and Marti is led

to consider it a later addition. In either case the unity is broken. The mention of a Jewish Diaspora returning from the islands of the sea, 60:9; 66:19, and the acceptance of Proselytes 56:3 f. (Hölscher) does not fit into the time of Nehemiah. The time of Nehemiah was still concerned with the return of more exiles, but here the gentiles are to come, chap. 60. The similarity with Malachi is not as great as we would expect. Sabbaths and fast-days are mentioned but not in the same sense. Here there is no emphasis laid on the sins of mixed marriages, corrupt priests, and faulty sacrifices as in Malachi. (d) Do the closing years of the Persian period (Hölscher) offer a better background for the prophecy as a whole? The unity established by Duhm would remain and be strengthened, since that which breaks it for a century earlier, 64:9-11, finds a reasonable explanation here. The existence of the temple is consistent. In fact all points in favor of that period also apply here, and the difficulties become less. The Diaspora, on the islands of the sea, and the coming of the gentiles clearly find a place in this time. The mention of the Nabataeans, 60:7, finds an easier explanation in the later date since their kingdom was not established till the close of the fifth century, and perhaps not till later. The great difference in language also finds an easier explanation here since the difference in two centuries would be greater than in one. The apocalyptic element present here likewise points to the later rather than the earlier date. (e) To put the entire selection into the Maccabaeian period is out of the question altogether.

There is another consideration upon which much depends in this investigation, namely, the origin of the Samaritan church and their temple.¹ We know that the Samaritans were the remnant of the land, very probably mixed with the peoples planted in the northern kingdom by the Assyrian kings. In the days of Josiah they united with the Jews in the use of the temple in Jerusalem, II Chron. 34:9. The eighty men from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria, mentioned in Jer. 41:5, can only have been Samaritans. Then for a century we have no information concerning them. After the Jews returned from the exile the Samaritans were refused a share in the new temple,

¹ See Kautzsch Art. "Samaritans" in *Realenc.*, 1906, Vol. 17; Stade *Gesch.* II. 188 f.; A. E. Cowley Art. "Samaritans" in *E. B.* III.

Ezra 4:5. But the real cause of the mutual estrangement and the implacable hatred between the two must lie deeper than this. It was the old spirit of opposition between Israel and Judah which had asserted itself in the days of Jeroboam I. It was in reality a revolt against centralization. Even under David the two kingdoms were never fully blended into one. The separation between Jews and Samaritans in the later time was political rather than religious. The Samaritans would have worshipped at Jerusalem in the days of Ezra, Ezra 6:21, but the Jews were exclusive and would have no dealings with them. In their condition of social and religious disorganization they found it necessary to pursue the same policy as the Jews, and to avoid danger to themselves they sought to hinder the Jews. This strife continued till they had their own temple on Mount Gerizim, after which separation was complete and reunion impossible. "Of the Samaritan temple we have no mention in the Old Testament and the occasion and date of its erection are alike difficult."¹ Josephus,² who places the schism and the erection of the temple under Alexander the Great in 332, is generally thought to be incorrect. Stade thinks Josephus confuses the events of Neh. 13:28, 29 and brings them a century later into the time of Alexander the Great. It is probably best to consider the passage in Josephus as a misinterpretation of Neh. 13:28, 29.³ The answer as to the time of the Samaritan schism cannot be determined from it nor from Neh. 13:28, 29 which has no connection with the schism of Shechem. That the division took place a century before the temple was built is altogether improbable, except that there was a continued hatred which found its final culmination only when the temple was once built. And the building of the temple, even though the Samaritans had the religion of the Jews except the results of the exile, depended no doubt on the possession of the written Pentateuch. For religious documents are not produced by temples, but the life gendered by religious teachings results in temples. Since the Pentateuch was not completed before the beginning of the fourth century, the Samaritans could not have come into possession of it till after that time, and consequently the schism came after 400 B. C., and not in the time

¹ Cowley *E. B.* 4,259.

³ Cowley *E. B.* 4,259; Hölscher *op. cit.* 39.

² *Ant.* xi. 7.2; 8.2, 4.

of Nehemiah, but rather as Hölscher has shown at the time of the destruction of Jericho in 352. The schism reached its culmination with the building of the temple. And the temple, according to Josephus¹ was built early in the reign of Alexander the Great, since it was destroyed in 128 B. C. after existing two centuries.

The conclusion reached is that the prevailing evidence points to the second half of the fourth century, namely, to the reign of Ochus, for the origin of Trito-Isaiah. As such it may be accepted as an additional source for the history of this dark period, and in turn find its most reasonable interpretation in the light of the history of this period.

II. *Psalms*.—The historic background in the Psalms is far less clear and definite than in the prophetic writings. The elements of uncertainty we have found in the passages of Isaiah are greatly intensified here. Of the Psalms claimed for our period there are chiefly four: 44, 74, 79, and 83. Besides these, also 89, 94, and 132 were thought of but scarcely with sufficient reason to merit their consideration here. The four Psalms first mentioned have, besides many others, long been claimed for the Maccabaeian period. From the days of Theodore of Mopsuestia² different Psalms were assigned to that late period. Without entering into a discussion of that long and much disputed problem it may be asserted that the prevailing consensus of opinion concerning the four Psalms named has been, and is today, that they are Maccabaeian. Among later critics who adhere to this view, for some or all of them, may be mentioned Delitzsch, 74 and 79, Giesebrecht,³ König, 74, Reuss, Smend, Driver,⁴ with some hesitancy, particularly for 83, Schürer,⁵ Wildeboer,⁶ Baethgen,⁷ Duhm,⁸ Marti, 74⁹ Cornill,¹⁰ Kittel,¹¹ and others.

The chief argument advanced in favor of the Maccabaeian time is the historic situation, for which fuller sources are at hand than for most of the postexilic time. The desolation of Jerusalem, *Psa.* 83, the burning of the temple, 74:3-7, and of the synagogues, 74:8, the

¹ *Ant.* xiii. 9.1.

² *Ca.* 350-429.

³ *Z. A. T. W.*, 1881, 276-332.

⁴ *Introd.* 387 f.

⁵ *Op. cit.* III. 148-50.

⁶ *Op. cit.* 399 f.

⁷ *Die Ps. übersetzt u. erklärt, ad loc.*

⁸ *Die Ps. erklärt, ad loc.*

⁹ *Das Buch Jes.* 218, 400.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* 252 f.

¹¹ *Art.* "Psalmen" *Realenc.*, Bd. 16, 209.

religious persecution, 44:18, 19, 23, the shedding of blood, 79:2, 3, the captivity of many Jews, 79:11, their feeling of rejection from Jahwe, 74:1, their being mocked and derided, 79:10, 12, 13, are said to be calamities experienced only when Jerusalem was captured by Nebuchadrezzar, 586, and in the days of the Maccabaeian rule. The general tone of the Psalms of Solomon is also claimed to point to this period. The similarity of II Macc. 8:2-4 with Psa. 74 and 79, and of I Macc. 5:2 with Ps. 83:4-6, are cited as proof. It must be admitted that the Psalms mentioned do fit into the historic situation of the Maccabaeian time as known in history. Perhaps if we knew what we do not know of other periods, the same Psalms could be claimed for other periods with equal definiteness. Even this period whose history is known is not without difficulties.

W. R. Smith¹ called attention to the difficulties of dating Psa. 44, 74, 79, and probably also 83, later than the Persian period, and sought the occasion for them in the history of Ochus. This view had earlier been advanced by Ewald.² The reason for placing the Psalms here was found in the external history of the time of Ochus (*vide supra*). The view of W. R. Smith has much in its favor. Already the position of these Psalms in the collection is difficult for a later period. The canon of the Elohistie Psalter, 42-83, was likely closed about the year 300, so that it is difficult to think of any later insertions of Psalms into the collection. And if inserted by a Maccabaeian redactor, we must suppose that he entered thoroughly into the spirit of the Elohistie collector,³ which again is difficult and improbable. Yet our knowledge of the formation of the collections is too indefinite to enable us to speak with anything of absolute certainty.⁴

Ben Sira⁵ 36:1-17 presupposes exactly the same conditions as Psa. 74 and 79. Yet there is no cogent reason advanced for claiming this part of Ben Sira as a later addition. More than this, Psa. 79:2-3 is quoted in I Macc. 7:17 as scripture, *κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἐγραψέ* vs. 16. If I Macc. dates from about the year 100 B. C. and

¹ Art. "Psalms" in *E. B.* XX. 31; *O. T. J. C.* 207-8, 437-40.

² *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, 1835, 353; *Hist. of Isr.* V. 120, n.

³ Cheyne *Introd.* 100.

⁴ Schürer *op. cit.* 148; Driver *op. cit.* 387-8.

⁵ Generally dated at *ca.* 180.

Psa. 79 from about the year 165, then the writer of I Macc. would scarcely quote so recent a writing and call it *δὲ ἔγραψε*, since he could easily have a personal recollection of the event. All this is not indeed decisive but is confirming evidence for the more probable earlier date. That there was no religious persecution in the days of Ochus, as Schürer and Cornill claim, corresponding to Psa. 44: 18, 19, 23, is hardly consistent with what is known of Ochus in his devastation of Egypt and Palestine (*vide supra*). That there was no more a prophet in the land, Psa. 74: 8-9, was true long before the days of Ochus, for the later writing-prophets were not considered as prophets in their own time. מוֹעֲדֵי־יָאֵל in Psa. 74: 8 is a very improbable phrase for *the synagogues*, and should perhaps read יְשׁוּעָה שֵׁם יִשְׂרָאֵל *the name of Israel*.¹ Cheyne, who in his *Origin of the Psalter*, 1891, still held to the Maccabaeian origin of Psa. 74 and 79, and considered Psa. 89 as probably also belonging in the same time, was the first to accept W. R. Smith's argument as historically probable.² In his *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* 160 f. he compares these Psalms with Isa. 63: 7-64: 12 and finds many points in common. The language used of the mistreatment of the Jews, of the profaning of their temple, of the ruin of their city, and of the desolation of their land is indeed more intense in the Psalms than in Trito-Isaiah. And this is just what one would expect in subjective poetic literature where the feelings are first considered and historic facts are secondary matters.

The conclusion of W. R. Smith was also accepted by G. Beer³ and by K. Budde⁴ in his review of Cheyne's *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* where he says: Es ist hohe Zeit mit der Meinung aufzuräumen, dass die Psalmen, die von tiefstem nationalem Unglück reden, der Makkabäerzeit angehörten." Guthe⁵ thinks it probable yet not certain that Psa. 44, 74, 79, and also 89, belong in the late Persian period. It is unfortunate that Cheyne now seeks to explain all these Psalms, as also the passages in Isaiah which he earlier claimed for the late Persian period, by his Jerahmeelite theory.⁶

¹ Cheyne *E. B.* III. 3,949 and n. 1.

² *New World*, September 1891, Review of *J. C. O. T.*²; *Founders*, 1892, 220-23.

³ *Individual u. Gemeindepsalmen*, 1894, LIV-LVI.

⁴ *Th. L. Z.*, 1886, 287.

⁵ *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* 291.

⁶ Art. "Psalms" in *E. B.* III, §28; Art. "Prophetic Literature," §43.

It may indeed not be possible to determine with absolute certainty where these Psalms had their origin and into what historic background they best fit. As in many other instances in the postexilic history of the Jews, and concerning the literature of that period, we may have to be content to remain in uncertainty. If at all possible the solution seems to me to lie in the direction of a better acquaintance with the apocalyptic literature. All that can be asserted with any confidence is that the prevailing evidence points to this period and that the Psalms probably belong here and reflect the experiences of the Jewish community at this time. With due allowance for the poetic way of expression the contents do not vary greatly from those of Trito-Isaiah. If the Psalms are accepted for the reign of Ochus, we have valuable additions to the list of sources, and, as well, an enlarged and clearer conception of the historic conditions of the time.

III. *Passages from the Minor Prophets.*—Among the different portions of the Minor Prophets which were thought to have originated from the late Persian period the following may be mentioned: (1) Joel, chap. 3 [4]; (2) Obad. vss. 1-15; (3) Hab. 1:2-2:4, in part; and (4) Zech., chap. 14. In no case were any definite decisive arguments advanced, perhaps because this was impossible, perhaps also because the historic background is not yet definitely enough defined and the historical data in the passages not yet sufficiently understood. (1) Joel, chap. 3 [4], is assigned to this period by C. F. Kent¹ shortly before the deportation of Jews to Hyrcania in 353. Others agree that not only chap. 3 but chaps. 1 and 2, as well, fall into the second half of the Persian period but not so far down. The year 400 or soon after is thought to be more nearly correct by Wildeboer,² Nowack, Marti, and Cornill. (2) Obad., vss. 1-15, was at one time assigned to the time of the deportation to Hyrcania by Cheyne,³ who now limits their date between 586 and 312, without any definite period within that time. Nowack agrees with this conclusion. Marti places the section at about 500, Wildeboer after 586, and Winckler between this date and 164. No definite claims for the reign of Ochus can be made. For (3), Hab. 1:2-2:4, in part, no definite claim was made for this period; and (4),

¹ *A Hist. of the Jewish People* 236 f.

² *Op. cit.* 345 f.

³ Art. "Obadiah" in *E. B.* III. 3,661.

Zech., chap. 14, undoubtedly falls with chaps. 12 and 13 into a later period.

Hence the Minor Prophets yield us no definite additional historic information for the reign of Ochus. The possibility, however, remains for such portions yet to be determined.

IV. *Parts of the Book of Job*.—Perhaps no book of the Old Testament has been assigned to so wide a range of time as the book of Job, through every period from Abraham down to the second century B. C., yet with an increasing tendency toward a late date. Naturally then someone would find a place for it in the late Persian period. Cheyne¹ advanced the thought that the original Job story was a poetic version of a perfectly righteous man, a second Abraham or Noah. Isa. 52:13—53:12 was modeled after this. During the close of the Persian or the beginning of the Greek period this treatment of the problem of righteous suffering, as presented by the original narrator of Job, was found inadequate for practical uses. Hence it was adapted to meet the needs of the new age. But this was not yet the present form of the book which comes from a date still later. C. F. Kent² follows this view in the main. He considers the principal sections of the book, chaps. 3-31 and 38:1—42:6, based on an old Job story, to have been written at this time.

The book of Job in its present form very probably comes from a late date, at all events from a postexilic period. The historic data in the book are too few to allow any definite assignment of an exact date. Whatever the date of the book, the gain from it for the history of any period is rather for the inner religious development, and only indirectly for the external history.

V. *The Apocryphal Books*.—(1) The Book of Judith. Ewald³ already observed that the story of the book of Judith has its background in the history of the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus. He also assigned the writing of the book to that age. The conclusion that the book was written as early as the fourth century has long since been shown to be impossible. It must at all events be later than the Maccabæan period and may come from a century or more later. W. R. Smith,⁴ following Gutschmied and Nöldeke, thinks it "probable

¹ *Jewish Rel. Life after the Exile* 158-72.

³ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*.

² *Op. cit.* 236 f.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 439.

that the wars under Ochus form the historic background of the book of Judith and that the name Holophernes is taken from that of a general of Ochus who took a prominent part in the Egyptian campaign." Schürer¹ thinks this probable and Hölscher² considers it established beyond a doubt. He sees in Holophernes and Bagoas historic personages whereas Judith is Judaism personified. Marquart,³ Winckler⁴ and Willrich⁵ find the solution here as in so many other instances in a change of names. Holophernes is not Holophernes but for one it is Aristazanes, for the other Assurbanipal, and for the third Odoarras, with nothing but confusing results.

The most satisfactory view seems to me that the book, though written late, has its background in the history of the reign of Ochus. Then we have not indeed additional history of that period but confirming evidence that the history as constructed is correct.

(2) The Book of Tobit, which Ewald⁶ thought probably to date from this period, has been satisfactorily shown to come from nearly two centuries later, and consequently needs no further consideration here.

D. SUMMARY RESULT

The summary will evidently be a bringing together of that which has already been given in the separate investigations. As certainly dating from the reign of Ochus are Isa. 23:1-14 and Isa. 19:1-15. Trito-Isaiah very probably also comes from the same time. Not certain, yet probable, are Psa. 44, 74, 79, and 83 as subjective presentations of the same historic situation as that which Trito-Isaiah gives us. The Book of Judith does not come from this time but has its background in the history of the reign of Ochus and reflects confirming light upon it. In Isa. 14:28-32 there are probably also to be found reflections of the campaigns of Ochus in Palestine, though the passage does not date from that reign. Of the remaining passages considered none yield sufficiently clear evidence to justify their acceptance for sources of the history of the reign of Ochus,

¹ *Op. cit.* III. 170 and n. 19.

² *Op. cit.* 35.

³ *Philologus* liv, 1895, 507-10.

⁴ *Altorientalische Forschungen* II, 1899, 266-76.

⁵ *Juden und Griechen vor der Makkabäischen Erhebung*, 1895, 88-90.

⁶ *Op. cit.*

although in the case of some it is equally impossible to say that they do not date from this period.

Isa. 23:1-14 corroborates the history of the campaign of Ochus against Sidon, and Isa. 19:1-15 the impending campaign against Egypt, as we have found them recorded in extra-biblical history. Isa., chaps. 56-66, shows us the relation between Jews and Samaritans during the close of the Persian period, their long-continued hatred, and their final separation resulting from the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim soon after the close of the reign of Ochus. Not only have we in Trito-Isaiah confirming evidence of the history of the reign of Ochus as we found it elsewhere, but it gives us a clearer picture of what the Jews suffered at the hands of Ochus. This suffering is presented more intensely in the Psalms probably dating from this time. The presentation is more intense because it is subjectively contemplated. A later reflection of the same history appears in the Book of Judith.

Every portion of the Old Testament finds its true and larger meaning when it is interpreted in the light of its true history. To find this larger meaning, and to interpret it to others, is the supreme aim of the student of the Old Testament. That many of the passages treated in this discussion have been meaningless until they were interpreted historically, every Old Testament student will admit. If in any way the writer has succeeded in bringing to light a larger meaning, or at least has directed the attention of others, as he has for himself, to the beauty and deeper significance of the historic truth and the religious message contained in some of these passages, then his purpose is accomplished.

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

A. CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGN OF OCHUS

- B. C.**
- 358 Nectanebus II, King of Egypt, 361-343.
Philip II, King of Macedon, 359-336.
Death of Artaxerxes II, Mnemon, King of Persia, 404-358.
Accession of Artaxerxes III, Ochus, to the throne of Persia, 358-338.
Death of Agesilaus, King of Sparta, 398-358.
- 357 First war between Philip and Athens, 357-346.
War of the separate League of Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium against Athens, 357-355.
- 356 Ochus commands the coast satraps to dismiss their mercenary troops.
Revolt of Artabazus, and Orontes who fortifies Pergamon.
- 355 Outbreak of the Phocian war, 355-346.
Ochus makes preparations for the campaign in the west.
Orontes subdued by Autophradates.
- 354 Artabazus seeks help from the Thebans.
- 353 Conflict of the Persians with revolting Jews. Jericho conquered.
Second campaign of Ochus against Egypt, under the command of his generals.
Pammenes sent by Thebes to assist Artabazus.
Athens supports the revolting Egyptians.
Orontes subdued by Ochus.
Demosthenes' speech, "De Rhodiorum Libertate."
Independence of the Rhodians.
- 352 League between Orontes and Athens.
Disagreement between Artabazus and Pammenes. Artabazus flees to Macedon.
Peace between Ochus and Orontes. Orontes made satrap of western Asia Minor.
- 351 Ochus makes preparations against Egypt.
Revolt in Sidon and entire Phoenicia against Persia.
Revolt in Cyprus. Euagoras II, of Salamis, banished. Pnytagoras made king in his stead.
League between Phoenicia and Egypt.
Idrieus satrap of Karia, 351-344.
Mizaeus of Celicia and Belesys of Syria sent by Ochus to suppress the revolt in Cyprus. Repulsed.
- 350 Phocion and Euagoras II land in Egypt and blockade Salami.
- 349 Ochus seeks aid from the cities of Greece. Athens and Sparta neutral.
Thebes and Argos send aid.

- 349 Pnytagoras recognized by the Persians as king of Salamis.
 348 Ochus in Syria. Sidon destroyed. Phoenicia conquered. Euagoras II satrap in Sidon.
 The Jews oppressed by Bagoas.
 346 First attempt by Ochus in his third campaign against Egypt, 346-343.
 Peace between Athens and Philip II.
 345 Second attempt of Ochus against Egypt. Nectanebus II flees to Memphis.
 Mentor appointed by Ochus over the satrapies of western Asia Minor.
 344 League between Philip and Ochus.
 343 Conquest of Egypt. Nectanebus II flees to Ethiopia.
 Pharendates appointed satrap of Egypt.
 Ochus returns to Persia.
 340 Ochus refused to enter into a league with Athens against Philip.
 339 Nectanebus II dies.
 Persian troops in Thrace fighting against Macedon.
 338 Battle of Chaeronea.
 Peace between Philip and Athens.
 Philip commander-in-chief over Hellenic troops against Persia.
 Death of Ochus. Succeeded by Arses, 338-335.
 336 Death of Philip II. Succeeded by Alexander the Great.

—Compiled

B. CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

	B. C.		B. C.
Cyrus	550-529	Artaxerxes III, Ochus . . .	358-338
Cambyses	529-522	Arses	338-335
Gaumata		Darius III, Codomannus . .	335-331
Darius I, Hystaspis . . .	521-485	Alexander the Great . . .	331-323
Xerxes I	485-464	The divided Empire . . .	323-242
Artaxerxes I, Longimanus .	464-424	The Parthian Empire	
Xerxes II	424-423		242 B. C.-224 A. D.
Sogdianus			
Darius II	423-404	The Sasanian Empire . . .	A. D. 224-652
Artaxerxes II, Mnemon . .	404-358	Modern Persia	652-
			—After NÖLDEKE

C. CHRONOLOGY OF EGYPT

	B. C.		B. C.
Persian Province	525-408	Nectanebus I	381-363
Amyrtaios	408-402	Tachos	363-361
Nepherites I	402-396	Nectanebus II	361-343
Akoris	396-383	Artaxerxes III, Ochus . . .	343-338
Psammut	383-382	Arses	338-335
Muthes	382-381	Darius III, Codomannus . .	335-331
Nepherites II	381	Alexander the Great . . .	331-323

D. CHRONOLOGY OF THE SELEUCIDAE. CAPITAL AT ANTIOCH

	B. C.		B. C.
Seleucus I, Nicator . . .	312-280	Antiochus VI, Dionysus . .	145-142
Antiochus I, Soter . . .	281-261	Demetrius in Parthia . . .	139-129
Antiochus II, Theos . . .	261-246	Antiochus VII, Sidetes . .	138-129
Seleucus II, Callinicus . .	246-226	Demetrius II, Nicator . . .	129-125
Seleucus III, Ceraunus or Soter		Alexander II and Seleucus V	
	226-223	Antiochus VIII, Grypus . .	125-96
Antiochus III, The Great . .	222-187	Antiochus IX, Cyzicenus . .	116-95
Seleucus IV, Philopater . .	187-175	Seleucus VI, Epiphanes Nicator	96-95
Antiochus IV, Epiphanes . .	175-164	Antiochus X	94-83
Antiochus V, Eupator . . .	164-162	Philippus I and Demetrius III	
Demetrius I, Soter	162-150	Antiochus XIII, Asiaticus . .	69-65
Alexander I, Balas	153-145	Syria a Roman Province . .	63-
Demetrius II, Nicator . . .	145-139		

—After W. J. WOODHOUSE in *E. B. IV.* 4,347 f.

E. CHRONOLOGY OF THE PTOLEMIES

	B. C.		B. C.
Ptolemy I, Lagi	323-285	Ptolemy VII, Physkon . . .	170-164
Ptolemy II, Philadelphus . .	285-246		145-117
Ptolemy III, Euergetes . . .	246-222	Ptolemy Lathurus	117-107
Ptolemy IV, Philopator . . .	222-205	Ptolemy Alexander	107- 89
Ptolemy V, Epiphanes	205-181	Ptolemy Lathurus (second time)	
Ptolemy VI, Philometor . . .	181-145		89- 81

—After GUTHE, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* 311.

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ARTAXERXES III OCHUS AND HIS REIGN

WITH SPECIAL CONSIDERATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
SOURCES BEARING UPON THE PERIOD

AN INAUGURAL DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BERN
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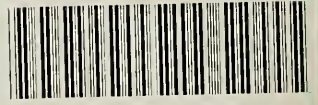
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